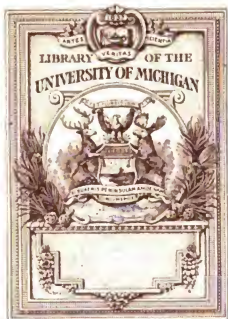


Athenian letters

Philip Yorke Harwicke, Charles Yorke



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ATHENIAN LETTERS.

VOL. I.

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ATHENIAN LETTERS:

OR, THE

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE

OF

AN AGENT OF THE KING OF PERSIA,

RESIDING AT ATHENS DURING THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

* A NEW EDITION;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ENGRAVINGS, AND A MAP OF ANCIENT GREECE.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1810.

*For an inventory of these letters, see Lander's
manual under Athens.*

TO
THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

THE FOLLOWING WORK
IS INSCRIBED,
BY THE EDITOR;
AS A TESTIMONY OF HIS SINCERE RESPECT,

AND AS A MEMORIAL OF
THE GRATITUDE AND ATTACHMENT
ENTERTAINED BY THE AUTHORS OF IT
FOR THAT
ANCIENT AND VENERABLE SEAT OF LEARNING,
WITH WHICH THEY WERE
SO LONG AND SO HONOURABLY CONNECTED.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE ATHENIAN LETTERS were first printed in the years 1741 and 1743, in Four Octavo Volumes, but were communicated only to a limited number of Friends, under the strictest injunctions of secrecy.

In 1781 they were reprinted in one Volume Quarto, but not published: yet, as the impression consisted of an hundred copies, they became more generally known, and were mentioned in Maty's and the Monthly Reviews.

As they were now much sought after, and could not be purchased, they were published at Dublin, from a copy which had fallen into the hands of a Bookseller. The successful sale of this Edition in Ireland encouraged a London Bookseller to advertise proposals for a new

one; but he immediately relinquished his design on being informed that the Work was private property, and had never been printed for publication.

The cause of its being so long suppressed was an ingenuous diffidence, which forbad the Suggesters of it, at that time extremely young, to obtrude on the notice of the World, what they had considered merely as a preparatory trial of their strength, and as the best method of imprinting on their own minds some of the immediate subjects of their academical studies. This cause no longer subsists; and, in consequence of repeated applications, the Work is now offered to the Public, illustrated with engravings, a Map of Ancient Greece, and a Geographical Index.

The analogy between the plan of the **ATHENIAN LETTERS** and the **TRAVELS OF ANARCHARSIS the Younger**, induced the late Lord **DOVER** to transmit a copy of them to the Abbe **BARTHELEMI**, whom he had known during his residence at Paris. The Letters which passed on that occasion are printed at the end of the Prefaces. The
Engravings

ADVERTISEMENT.

IX

Engravings which accompany the Work are principally taken from Drawings by DAY, after Busts at Rome. That of PERICLES is taken from an antique Bust in the valuable collection of CHARLES TOWNLEY, Esq. to whom the Editor takes this opportunity of expressing his obligation.

HARDWICKE.

WIMPOLE,
March 31st, 1798.

P R E F A C E

TO THE EDITION OF 1741.

As the following Collection of Letters has been thought worthy the attention of the Learned by some judicious persons to whom they were communicated, the Translator humbly presumes they will prove an acceptable entertainment to the Public; at the same time he will be bold to say, they want no introduction to recommend them. However, as the world will naturally inquire into the circumstances to which it is indebted for these valuable remains of antiquity, he thinks it necessary to premise a general account of the accident which brought them to his hands. This account, he conceives, will not only be grateful to the curiosity of the Reader, but be attended with a further good consequence to himself, as it will sufficiently protect him from the cavils of censorious critics, and vindicate him from every unjust imputation.

It has long been a subject of complaint to modern Literati, that the Library at Fez, in the King of Morocco's dominions, where the greatest treasures of Oriental learning are supposed to lie, was never yet examined with any tolerable care or diligence. The difficulty of access to it is the reason why nothing certain can be known concerning it; but several have imagined, that, were it thoroughly searched, the Arabian versions of the Greek and Latin authors would in all probability see the light. A learned Jew, who dwelt in that city for many years, and who by some means or other had worked himself into the favour of the Alcaide, or chief magistrate of the place, spent much of his leisure hours in perusing the volumes that are lodged there. Upon his decease, in the year 1698, he left his papers to an English

English Consul at Tunis, from whom he had received obligations in his lifetime. The Consul, upon turning them over, amongst others, found a fair Spanish manuscript, intitled "Letters from an Agent of the King of Persia, residing at Athens during the Peloponnesian War, to the Ministers of State, &c. translated by MOSES BEN MESHOBAB, from a Manuscript in the Old Persic Language, preserved in the Library at Fez." Surprized at what he saw, he wrote immediately to two or three friends in England, and informed them of the important discovery. It appears that he had then an intention to publish them, but being afterwards called off by different pursuits, they lay neglected until his death. By the will of this gentleman, the manuscript was left as a legacy to the English Translator, who thought it would be an act of the highest injustice to withhold them any longer from the public view. He chooses indeed to conceal his name, which he hopes the candid Reader will forgive, since it is not done with a design of imposing more safely upon the world, but in order to decline with honour the disagreeable wranglings of controversy.

The Agent concerned in these Letters appears to have been singularly fitted for his employment. As his mind was enlarged by a general conversation with men and books, his parts and knowledge furnished him with every qualification, required even by the most modern writers, on the subject of foreign negotiations. A circumstance the more extraordinary in CLEANDER, as he lived at a time when the balance of power was unequally divided in the world, and the science of embassy and treaty was not yet reduced into that regular and perfect system, to which it has been carried by the wisdom of later and more improved ages. For the simplicity of the ancients, in all their contests with their neighbours, led them into the strange absurdity of settling ambiguities, instead of leaving them; and it was the constant rule of their policy not to play with the rights of nations, but to state and to clear them.

During

During the residence of our Agent in the city of Athens, he seems to have been extremely curious in examining the constitution of Greece; and, while he writes to the Ministers on matters of political and public business, he does not fail to transmit faithful accounts to his friends of the learning prevailing in the country, and little private anecdotes relating to himself. Far from dealing in trivial and low occurrences, his Letters are full of the most important information. We never find him pressing for any increase of his remittances, but contented with his first appointments. It is agreeable enough to observe him upon some occasions deviating from the dull road of his instructions, and acting with that freedom and latitude of judgment, which a wise man should be indulged in exercising, and with that air of authority and understanding, which naturally creates esteem. By a peculiar dexterity in his conversation, he makes use of the access which he had gained to the considerable men of Athens to the service of his master, and the interest of Persia; and, though he now and then breaks out into strong and rapturous expressions on liberty, he cannot lay aside a zealous regard for either. In a word, he is a pattern of address in negotiation; and I doubt not but if WICQUEFORT had been acquainted with his character, he had numbered CLEANDER among the most eminent masters of that art, and recommended his Letters in the same page with Cardinal D'OSSAT's*.

Besides these sentiments, which evidently flow from a perusal of the Papers now offered to the public, a secret pleasure will arise in the breast of every man of taste and knowledge, when he considers how much they tend to corroborate the testimony of THUCYDIDES, to heighten our idea of his impartiality, and to wipe off the unjust aspersions that have been thrown upon his memory by JOSEPHUS†.

* *Vide* Wicquefort's Complete Emb. sect. 10. B. 2.

† *Vide* Joseph. con. Apion. where he endeavours to lessen the credit of the Greek historians.

At the same time we may entertain a more adequate notion of the customs of the Greeks and Persians from these Letters of our Agent, in which the living manners are expressed, than we can possibly gather from the most formal and elaborate treatises of grave antiquaries. Not to mention several curious particulars of Court subtilty and intrigue interwoven in the course of them, which may seem perhaps beneath the notice of an historian, but which yet have a wonderful effect in unravelling the secret springs and true causes of action.

As to the objections, which have been framed with peculiar success, to the genuineness of the Epistles of PHALARIS and THEMISTOCLES by a formidable champion in the republic of letters; such objections as are drawn from the uncertain time, in which the great men who are spoken of in them are supposed to have flourished, and from the matter of the Epistles themselves; we conceive that no such can lie against the collection before us. ATOSSA*, who was the first inventress of letter-writing in the opinion of our critic, had been several years dead, before CLEANDER made his appearance on the theatre of human affairs; and after her death she could no longer monopolize the use of it. It is therefore apprehended, with an honest confidence, that we have little to fear either from the extensive learning or penetration of that critic†.

To conclude: The Translator begs leave to congratulate the literary world on the discovery of this hidden treasure of antiquity, which may be considered as a large accession to the wealth it already stands possessed of; and to congratulate himself on being the unworthy instrument, after an interval of so many ages, of presenting these inestimable relics to the Public.

C.

* *Vide Bentley against Boyle*, p. 535.

† Dr. Bentley was then alive.

P R E F A C E

TO THE EDITION OF 1781.

It is thought proper to preserve the Preface to the Octavo Edition of these Letters*, which supposes the Work to be genuine, and a Translation from an old Arabic Version: but when a due interval of time has elapsed, the truth may be owned; the illusion vanishes; it is a masquerade which is closed; the fancy-dresses and the dominos are returned to their respective wardrobes; the company walk about again in their proper habits, and return to their ordinary occupations in life.

The Authors of these Letters were a Society of Friends, who were contemporaries at the University of Cambridge, about the years 1739 and 1740; all their names (except that of the Writer of this Preface) were an ornament to the place. The world was unfortunately deprived of the talents, virtues, and services of one of them, when they were most wanted, both by his own Profession and by the Public: not above two or three of the set are now living; they lament the loss of their colleagues, and cultivate the remembrance of their former friendly connection.

The learned, into whose hands these Letters may fall, will best judge how correctly the manners of antiquity are kept up, and how truly the history of those times is represented in them.

* Printed by James Bettenham in 1741.

The Grecian part of the correspondence is exactly stated from *THUCYDIDES* and *PLUTARCH*; the Persian is extended and improved from the few remaining fragments of *CRESIAS*: but it is hoped, the *Costumé* of the East is preserved throughout, and the events such as might happen under a well-governed absolute monarchy—the picture of which is more flattering than experience commonly justifies.

The general character of *CLEANDER* is taken from *MAHMUT*, the Turkish Spy; but it is finished upon the Greek model; and the philosophical and literary features of it are copied from the Schools of Athens, and the Groves of *Academus*. The forms and language of the negotiation part of the Letters may be thought too refined for the times when they are supposed to be written; the dispatches of those great Ministers, *TEMPLE* and *D'ESTRADES*, were the originals which the writers in that department attempted to imitate.

HERODOTUS, *PAUSANIAS*, and *STRABO* have furnished the Antiquities of *Ægypt*; *HYDE's Religio Vet. Persarum* has been chiefly followed in the Letters which relate to that obscure subject, and it is hoped with some success: and so as to form an interesting contrast with the Greek worship and philosophy.

Perhaps the character and travels of the young Persian Satrap *ORSAMES* might have been more varied and enlivened, and he might have been brought to Greece to serve a volunteer in their armies, and improve under the military institutions of Athens and Sparta; but it is thought advisable, on the whole, to make no alterations from the original edition, particularly as the learned and ingenious Writer of those Letters is deceased.

Not

Not many years ago the younger CREBILLON, a name well known among the novel-writers of France, published a work in four volumes under this very title of *Lettres Atheniennes*; they relate to the same times, and have some of the same characters with ours, as PERICLES, ASPASIA, CLEON, and ALCIBIADES: but the turn of that correspondence is so different from that of the present Work, that no comparison can be made between them; the Readers will give the preference according to their respective tastes and inclinations.—We hope our characters are antique. Those of Mr. CREBILLON are in a great degree the *petit maitres* and *petites maitresses* of Paris; and the idea of improving the manners and morals of society does not seem to have been the principal object of that ingenious writer in those Letters, any more than in the *Sopha* & *l'Escumoire*.

H.

To the ABBÉ BARTHELEMI.

MILORD DOVER, de la famille de Yorke, saisit avec empressement l'occasion qui se présente par le canal de M. Barthelemi, Ministre Plenipotentiaire de sa Majesté très Chrétienne à la Cour de Londres, d'offrir à M. l'Abbé Barthelemi son oncle l'hommage si justement dû au savant et élégant Auteur du VOYAGE DU JEUNE ANACHARSIS EN GRECE, en lui faisant parvenir le Volume ci-joint des LETTRES ATHÉNIENNES. L'origine de cette production est expliquée dans la seconde Préface à la tête de l'ouvrage : les Lettres signées P. sont de Philippe Yorke, Comte de Hardwicke, fils aîné du Grand Chancelier de ce nom ; celles signées C. sont de son frère, Mr. Charles Yorke, qui est lui-même parvenu au poste éminent de Grand Chancelier, mais qui est mort trop tôt pour sa famille et pour sa patrie ; les autres sont écrites ou par leurs parens ou par leurs amis. En priant M. l'Abbé Barthelemi d'agréer ce petit présent littéraire, l'on n'a point la présomption de comparer cet ouvrage au charmant Voyage d'Anacharsis, mais uniquement de donner un témoignage d'estime à son illustre Auteur ; et de marquer combien on a été flatté de trouver qu'une idée qui a pris son origine ici il y a près de cinquante ans a été perfectionnée avec tant d'élégance long tems après, sans aucune communication, par un Auteur digne du sujet.

À LONDRES,
ce 21 Decembre, 1789.

DOVER.

To Lord DOVER.

MILORD,

J'ai l'honneur de vous remercier du bel exemplaire des LETTRES ATHÉNIENNES que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer, et surtout de la note trop flatteuse que vous avez daigné y tracer de votre main. J'entendis l'été dernier parler pour la première fois de cet ouvrage ; et ce fut par M. Jenkinson. Je n'ai pu jusqu'à présent le parcourir qu'à la hâte ; si je l'avois connu plutôt, ou je n'aurois pas commencé le mien, ou j'aurois tâché d'approcher de

de ce beau modele. Pourquoi ne l'a-t-on pas communiqué au public ? Pourquoi n'est il pas traduit dans toutes les langues ? Je sacrifierois volontiers mes derniers jours au plaisir d'en enrichir notre littérature, si je connoissois mieux les finesses de la langue Angloise : mais je n'entreprendrois pas de l'achever, de peur qu'il ne m'arrivât la même chose qu'à ceux qui ont voulu continuer le discours de Bossuet sur l'Histoire Universelle.

Daignez agréer l'hommage de la reconnaissance & du respect avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être,

MILORD,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

À PARIS,

BARTHELEMI.

ce 1 Janvier, 1790.

Earl MANSFIELD to the Earl of HARDWICKE.

MY DEAR LORD,

GIVE me leave to return you my warmest thanks for the ATHENIAN LETTERS.

——Veteres revocamus amores,

Atque olim amissas flectas amicitias.

I grieve exceedingly that your Lordship has suffered so much, and hope you are better. Nobody can wish it more sincerely than

Your most obedient humble servant,

MANSFIELD.

MARCH, 1783.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

A

ABÆ. A town of Phocis, in which was an oracular temple of Apollo, enriched by costly offerings, and more ancient than that of Delphi; it was burnt by the Persians in the invasion of Xerxes, but its oracles were still in repute in the time of Herodotus.

ABDERA. A very ancient town of Thrace, situated near the coast of the Ægean sea on the eastern side of the mouth of the Nestus, and opposite the island of Thasus; said to have been founded either by Hercules or by the sister of Diomedes; and after having fallen into decay to have been re-peopled by a colony from Clazomenæ, and, at a later period, by a colony of Teians.

ABYDUS. A town of Troas, built by the Milesians on the shore of the narrowest part of the Hellespont opposite to Sestus.

ABYDUS. A town of Upper Ægypt on the western side of the Nile, in the Thinitick nome, containing the celebrated palace of Memnon, and a magnificent temple of Osiris: it was the next town in splendour to Thebes, but had become ruinous as early as the age of Strabo.

ACANTHUS. A town of Athamania, which, according to Strabo, is a district of Epirus.

ACARNANIA. The most western country of Greece, extending along the coast of the Ionian sea, separated from Epirus by the Sinus Ambracius, and from Ætolia by the river Achelous.

ACHAIA. A country of the Peloponnesus, extending from Sicyon westward to the extremity of the Sinus Corinthiacus, and from thence along the coast to the promontory Araxus, the boundary of Elis.

ACHARNÆ. An inland town of Attica belonging to the tribe of Cœnis, the largest of those that were called *Δημιοί*.

VOL. I.

C

ACHELOUS.

ACHELOUS. A river whose source is in mount Pindus; it flows southwards through the country of the Agræi and the Amphiloichi, and divides Ætolia from Acarnania.

ACHERUSIA. A lake in Thesprotia, a province of Epirus, through which the river Acheron discharges itself into the sea, nearly opposite the southern point of the island of Corcyra.

ACROCORINTHUS. A mountain which served as a citadel to Corinth, and was inclosed within its walls, except those parts which were too steep to be built on. On its summit was a temple of Venus, and a little lower the fountain Pirene.

ACTIUM. A town of Acarnania on the south-eastern side of the strait that leads into the Sinus Ambracicus; celebrated for the goodness of its harbour, and for the temple of Actian Apollo.

ADRAMYTTIUM. An Athenian colony with a port and arsenal, on the coast of the Greater Mysia opposite Lesbos.

ÆGEAN SEA. Bounded by the coasts of Greece and Macedon on the west, and the coast of Asia Minor on the east; extends northward to the Hellespont, and southward (according to some geographers, who consider the Myrtoan, Cretan, Carpathian, and Icarian seas as parts of it) to the island of Crete. Others, as Strabo, make the promontory of Sunium in Attica its southern limit.

ÆGINA. An island in the Sinus Saronicus, opposite the Piræus, at about twenty miles distance.

ÆGYPT, (properly so called, for some geographers comprehend, under this name, parts of Lybia, Marmarica, and other conquests of the Ægyptian kings) extends from Philæ and Elephantine, built on islands in the Nile and Syene, under the tropic of Cancer, along both banks of the Nile to the Mediterranean sea. The great divisions of it were two, according to some authors, Upper and Lower Ægypt; three according to others, Thebais, Heptanomis, Delta. The first and third of these were subdivided, each into ten nomes or præfectures; the second, into seven by Ptolemy, as its name imports; into sixteen by Strabo, who, instead of Heptanomis, calls it *ἡπτάνομος*; but he enumerates several that do not belong to Ægypt Proper. On the east of the Pelusiæ mouth of the Nile it touches Palestine

tine and Arabia Petrea. The last town towards the former was probably Ostracine, at the outlet of the Palus Sirbonis; towards the latter Heroopolis, at the extremity of the Arabian gulf.

ÆTOLIA. A maritime country of Greece, divided from Acarnania by the river Achelous; having Doris on the north, the Locri Ozolæ on the east, the Ionian sea and Corinthian gulf on the south and south-east.

AGRADATES, or CYRUS. A river in Persia, which falls into the Persian gulf, towards the eastern end of it.

AGRIGENTUM, or ACRAGAS. A town built on a mountain on the southern coast of Sicily, about midway between the promontories of Lilybæum and Pachynus.

ALPHEUS. A river flowing from Arcadia, through Elis, into the Mare Ionium.

AMBRACIA. A colony of the Corinthians in Thesprotia, a district of Epirus. It stands at the mouth of the Arachthus or Arethon, and gives its name to the Sinus Ambracius.

AMPHIPOLIS. An Athenian colony, referred by some geographers to Macedon, by others to Thrace; being situated on an island formed by the Strymon, which divides those two kingdoms.

ANACTORIUM. A town built by a Corinthian colony in Acarnania, on the Sinus Ambracius.

ANAPHYLSTUS. A maritime *ἑκτορ* of Attica, according to Strabo; inland, according to Ptolemy, probably a little to the northward of Phalerum.

ANDANIA. The ancient metropolis of Messenia, built by Polycæon, son of Lelex, the first king of the country; deserted after the defeat of Aristomenes at the battle of the Trenches.

ANDROS. Vide **CYCLADES**.

ANTÆUS. The capital of the northern nome of the Thebais, on the eastern side of the Nile, to which it gives the name of the Antæopolitic nome.

ANTHEMUS. A town and district of Macedonia, probably to the eastward of Mygdonia.

ARABIA. A very extensive peninsula in Asia, bounded on the west by the Sinus Arabicus, or Red Sea; on the east by the Sinus Persicus, and on the south by the part of the Mare Erythrum, that lies between them. It is divided into Arabia Felix, Arabia Petrea, and Arabia Deserta. Arabia Felix occupies almost the whole of the peninsula; the other districts, comparatively small, bound it on the north, and extend a little above the extremities of the two gulfs. Arabia Petrea lies along the eastern and southern frontiers of Palestine; and Arabia Deserta between the desert of Palmyra and the Chaldean mountains.

ARAXES. A river of Persia that falls into the Persian gulf.

ARCADIA. A state in the centre of the Peloponnesus.

AREOPOLIS. A town of Arabia Petrea on the eastern bank of the Arnon.

ARGEIA, or ARGOLIS. A state in the Peloponnesus bounded on the west by Arcadia, on the north by the Corinthian territory, on the south by Laconia, on the east by the Saronic and Argolic gulfs, from Prusiae, or more probably from Temenium, to the Portus Bucephalus inclusive.

ARGOS. The principal inland town of Argolis near the river Inachus.

ARGOS AMPHILOCHICUM, called also ARGIA. A town built in Acarnania on the Sinus Ambracius by an Argive colony under the conduct of Amphiloclus, the son of Amphiarus.

ARIA. A large province of the Persian empire, its limits uncertain. Aria Proper seems to have been bounded by Parthia and Carmania Deserta to the west, Drangiana to the south, the Paropamisadæ to the east, Bactriana and Margiana to the north.

ARMENIA, the Greater, bounded by Armenia the Less and the Euphrates on the west, by Mount Taurus, which separates it from Mesopotamia, on the south, by the two Medias on the east, and by Albania and Iberia on the north.

ARMENIA, the Less, was surrounded by Armenia the Greater, Cappadocia, Pontus, and the Pontus Cappadocius; its limits are very imperfectly ascertained.

ARNON. A river of Arabia Petrea.

ARSINOE.

ARSINOË. A town of Lower Ægypt, which gives its name to the nome in which it stands, called anciently the city of Crocodiles.

ARTEMISIUM. A promontory on the northern coast of Eubœa.

ASCRA. A village at the foot of Mount Helicon in Boëtia.

ASIA MINOR. A vast peninsula bounded on the north by the Euxine sea and the Propontis, on the west by the Ægean, on the south by the Mediterranean, on the east by the river Halys and Mount Taurus. It contained, towards the Euxine and Propontis, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Mysia, the Greater and the Less, and the Hellespontian Phrygia, which included Troas; towards the Ægean, Æolis, Ionia, Caria; towards the Mediterranean, Lycia. The country surrounded by these districts bore the general name of Phrygia Magna, comprehending the subdivisions of Gallogrœcia, or Galatia, Lycaonia, Lydia, and a district since called Phrygia Epictetos, which extended along the southern frontier of Bithynia, and round Mount Olympus in Mysia. This is Strabo's division of Asia Minor, though he elsewhere as signs this last-mentioned district to the Lesser Phrygia, which he says consisted of the Hellespontian Phrygia, and of Phrygia Epictetos. Other geographers arrange it differently. It seems uncertain whether Pisidia is to be assigned to the Lesser or Greater Asia.

ASOPUS. A river of Boëtia, which falls into the Euripus between Oropus and Tanagra.

ASSYRIA PROPER. Bounded on the north by the Greater Armenia, and the mountain Niphates, on the west by the Tigris and Mesopotamia, on the south by Susiana, on the east by Media, and the mountains Chozatra and Zagrus.

ATHENS. The capital of Attica.

ATHOS. A mountain situated on a peninsula of the Regio Chalcidica, between the Sinus Strymonicus and Sinus Singiticus.

ATTICA. A Grecian state, having Megaris on the west, Boëtia on the north, the Sinus Saronicus on the south, and the Ægean sea on the east.

B

BABYLON. The most ancient city in the world; founded by Nimrod on the great western branch of the Euphrates, enlarged by Belus and

and Semiramis, carried to its utmost splendor by Nebuchadnezzar, dismantled by Darius, defaced by Xerxes, partly demolished by the Macedonians, finally drained of its inhabitants by Selucia, a city built at the confluence of the eastern branch of the Euphrates with the Tigris, and spoken of by Pausanias, in the age of the Antonines, as a heap of ruins.

BABYLONIA. A large province of the Persian empire, separated from Arabia Deserta on the west by the Chaldean mountains, from Mesopotamia on the north by the Euphrates, from Susiana on the east by the Euphrates and Tigris after their junction, and bounded on the south by Arabia Felix and the Persian gulf.

BABYCA. The Delphic *Pelops* respecting the constitution of the Lacedæmonian senate, recited in Plutarch's life of Lycurgus, enjoined that the general assemblies of the senate and people should be held between Babyca and Cnacion. Plutarch adds, * that the Babyca and the Cnacion were in his time called *Cænús*; (which determines the situation to have been south-east of Sparta; for Polibius speaks of the *Cænús*, as flowing through a plain between the hills Eva and Olympus, and of the high road to Sparta, as lying along its bank.) In the life of Pelopidas, Plutarch says, † the Greeks were then first taught that it was not the Eurotas and the soil between Babyca and Cnacion which produced good soldiers, &c. These passages seem to imply that the Babyca and Cnacion were two rivers, or different branches of the same river, but immediately after the first of them follows, ‡ Aristotle, however, calls the Cnacion a river, and the Babyca a bridge.

BACTRIA, or BACTRIANA. A province of the Persian empire, bounded on the west by the province of Margians, on the north by the river Oxus, on the east by the Massagetæ and Scythians, on the south by the ridges of the mountain Paropamisus.

BARCE. A town on the western side of the Cyrenaic Pentapolis, about twelve miles from the sea, but having a port where Ptolemais was afterwards built.

BÆOTIA.

* Τὸ δὲ Βαβυλῶν, καὶ τὸ Κνωσσὸν τὸν Οὐσσὸν προσηγορεύοντο·

† Εἴπω δὲ μάχη γῆρας καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς ἀνδραγαθίας ἑλλήνων, οὐκ οὐχ' ὁ Εὐρώτας, οὐδ' ὁ μῆλας· Βαβυλῶν καὶ Κνωσσὸς τούτοις ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ μάχης καὶ νουθετοῦται, κ. λ.

‡ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ τὸν μὲν Κνωσσὸν, ποταμὸν· τὸν δὲ Βαβυλῶνα, γέφυραν·

BEOTIA. A Grecian state, bounded by the territory of the Locri Opuntii on the north, by Phocis on the west, by Attica on the south, and by the Euripus, which separates it from Eubœa, on the east.

BOTTIEA. A small maritime district of Macedonia, bounded by Æmæthia on the west, by the Sinus Thermaicus on the east, separated from the Regio Amphaxitis on the north by the river Axios, and from Pieria on the south by the Ludias.

BUBASTUS, or BUBASTIS. A town on the eastern bank of the eastern branch of the Nile, to which and to the adjacent district it gives its name. It seems to have received its own from the Egyptian deity, Bubastis, supposed by the Greeks to be the same with their Diana.

BYBLUS. A town of Phœnicia on an eminence near the sea; the royal residence of Cinyras, and sacred to Adonis.

C

CADMÆA. The citadel of Thebes, so called from its founder Cadmus.

CADUSIA. A mountainous district in the north-western part of Media, bordering on the Caspian sea.

CAPPADOCIA. A large district in the peninsula of Asia to the east of the Halys; divided by the Persians into two Satrapies, one maritime, extending along the shore of the Pontus, the other inland; its limits at that period were unknown in the time of Strabo.

CARIA. A maritime province of Asia Minor, bounded to the west and south by the Ægean and Mediterranean seas. Its inland boundaries are not easily ascertained, having frequently varied. It was, perhaps, originally separated from Lydia by the Meander, and from Lycia by the Xanthus.

CARMANIA PROPER. A province of the Persian empire. It has Persia on the west, a part of the Persian and Indian seas, sometimes called Mare Carmanium, on the south, Gedrosia on the east, Carmania Deserta (beyond which is Parthia) on the north.

CARTHAGE. The capital of Zeugitana, a district of Africa Proper, built on a peninsula forty-five miles in circumference, and joined to the continent by an isthmus about three miles broad.

CARYA.

CARYA. A town of Laconia on the confines of *Messenia*. *Diana* had the name of *Caryatis* from a temple, and a festival held there in honour of her.

CASIUS. A mountain in *Ægypt*, between the Eastern or *Pelusiæ* mouth of the Nile, and the *Palus Sirbonis*.

CAUNUS. A sea-port town in the *Peræa Rhodiorum*, a district of *Caria*, situated at the mouth of the river *Calbis*.

CENCHREÆ. Vide *CORINTH*.

CEPHISUS. A river of *Phocis*, which loses itself in the lake *Copais*.

CEPHISUS. A river of *Attica* which falls into the *Sinus Saronicus*, between the *Piræus* and *Eleusis*.

CHALCIS. The principal town in *Eubœa*, situated in a kind of peninsula opposite *Aulis*.

CHAONIA. The northern division of *Epirus*, separated from *Illyricum* by the *Acroceraunian* mountains, bounded on the west by the *Ionian sea*, on the south by *Thesprotia*, on the east by *Molossis*.

CHELIDONIAN ISLES. Three small rocky islands in the *Mediterranean*, about midway between *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*; they divided the *Lycian sea* from the *Pamphylian*.

CHEMMIS, or CHENNIS. A town of Upper *Ægypt*, the birth-place of *Perseus*, who was worshipped there; situated, according to *Herodotus*, in the *Thebaic nome*; in the *Panopolitic*, according to *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, who suppose it to be the same with *Panopolis*.

CHENÆ. A town or village on *Mount Ceta*, in the early age of *Greece*; the birth-place of *Myson*, (the son of *Ariston*,) substituted by *Plato*, in his list of the seven sages, for *Periander* of *Corinth*.

CHIOS. An island of the *Ægean sea*, near the coast of *Ionia*.

CHNUBIS. A town of Upper *Ægypt*, on the eastern side of the Nile, in the *Thebaic nome*.

CILICIA. A large district extending along the southern coast of the peninsula of *Asia* from *Pamphylia* to *Syria*, inclosed by *Mount Taurus* to the west and north, and *Mount Amanus* to the east, accessible only by narrow passes through these mountains; divided into *Cilicia Aspera* towards *Pamphylia*, and *Cilicia Campestris* towards *Syria*, bounded on the south by the *Mediterranean sea*.

CIRRAH.

CIRRHA. A town in the south-western part of Phocis, on the Corinthian gulf, near the confines of the Locri Ozolæ.

CIRTA. The metropolis of Numidia Proper.

CLAROS. A grove and temple sacred to Apollo, and probably a town also, situated between Lebedos and Colophon, on the southern side of the isthmus of the peninsula of Ionia.

CNACION. Vide **BABYCA**.

CNIDUS. A maritime town, at the south-western point of the peninsula of Doris in Caria.

COLCHIS. A country at the eastern extremity of the Pontus Euxinus, extending, according to Ptolemy, from Pityús on the river Corax to the Phasis: according to Strabo, from Pityús to Trapezûs.

COLONOS. An eminence and village near Athens, with a grove and temple sacred to the Furies, in which Œdipus is said to have sought an asylum when he was banished from Thebes: it was called Equestrian from altars built there to Equestrian Neptune and Equestrian Minerva; monuments were afterwards erected to Theseus, Pirithous, Œdipus, and Adrastus.

COPTOS. A town in Upper Ægypt, on the eastern side of the Nile, which gives its name to the Coptite nome.

CORCYRA. An island in the Ionian sea, separated by a narrow streight from Thesprotia, the southern district of Epirus.

CORINTH. A powerful commercial city on the south-west part of the isthmus which joins the Peloponnesus to the continent of Greece; it had two ports, the Lachæum, at the distance of a mile and half, immediately under the city, and connected with it by walls, from which its trade to the westward, through the Corinthian gulf, was carried on; and Cenchreæ, at about nine miles distance on the Saronic gulf, from whence their ships sailed to Asia and Ægypt.

COS. An island near the coast of Caria, at the entrance of the bay of Halicarnassus.

CRETE. The largest of the Greek islands, about fifty miles in breadth, and two hundred and seventy in length, situated between the Ægean and Cyrenaic seas, and extending from the Peloponnesus to the confines of Asia.

CRISSA. A maritime town of Phocis, a little to the south-east of Delphi.

CRISSEÆAN GULF. Sometimes confounded with the Corinthian Gulf, which extends from the Streight of Antirrhium to the isthmus, but properly that recess of it which runs up northward to the town of Crissa.

CROTON. A maritime town of Græcia Magna, on the Ionian sea, near the promontory of Lacinium, in the territory of the Bruttii; very populous, and twelve miles in circumference till the invasion of Pyrrhus, during which half of it was laid waste, so that the part that continued to be inhabited was at a considerable distance from the channel of the Æsarus, which before passed through the middle of the town.

CUMA, or CYME. A maritime town, the metropolis of Cæolis, said to have been built by Pelops on his return from Greece, after his victory over Enomæus.

CYANEAN ISLANDS, or SYMPLEGADES. Two small rocky islands in the Pontus Euxinus, near the entrance of the Bosphorus; they are somewhat less than a league distant from each other, and the imaginary line that divides Europe from Asia passes between them.

CYCLADES. A cluster of islands in the Ægean sea, so called from respecting Delos as their centre, though far from being accurately so. They were originally twelve, afterwards several more were accounted to them. The twelve, according to Strabo, were Ceos, Cythnus, Seriphus, Melus, Siphnus, Cimolus, Naxos, Parus, Syrus, Myconus, Tenus, Andrus.

CYPRUS. A large island, situated in the angle formed by the junction of the peninsula of Asia with the continent; surrounded by the Ægyptian and Pamphylian seas, and the gulf of Issus; opposite to Cilicia on the north, and to Syria on the east.

CYRENE. The capital of the Cyrenæic region on the coast of Africa, about ten miles inland from the town of Apollonia, which was its port; said to have been founded by Battus, who conducted a colony from Thera, an island in the Cretan sea, belonging to Laconia.

CYROPOLIS. A town on the Caspian sea, in the north-western part of Media.

CYRTA. An inland town of Numidia Proper, a little to the east of the river Ampsaga.

CYRTÆA.

CYRTÆA. Spoken of by Ctesias, (in Pers. c. 39,) as *παλις ἐν τῇ ἰσθμῷ θαλάσσης εἰς τὴν ὑπερωκεανὸν Ἀφραξίαν; Μεγαλοῦρον.*

CYRUS. A large river passing through Iberia and Albania, and falling into the Caspian sea.

CYTHERA. An island separated from Malea, the southern promontory of Laconia, by a channel about five miles wide, of great importance to Sparta, from its excellent harbour near the town of Scandæa, where they had a garrison and an arsenal.

D

DAMASCUS. The metropolis of Syria, situated near the source of the Chrysorrhœa, in Cœlesyria Proper.

DELOS. Vide CYCLADES.

DELPHI. An inland town in Phocia, about ten miles from the sea, situated on the ascent of the mountain Parnassus.

DERÆ. A village in Messenia.

DODONA. A town of Epirus on the confines of Molossis and Thesprotia, attributed sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other.

DOLOPIA. A district of Thessaly, according to Homer and Strabo, north-west of Pthia; there is also a Dolopia mentioned by Thucydides, under Mount Pindus, on the confines of Epirus, near the source of the Achelous.

DORIS. A Grecian state, a small rocky district, situated at the foot of the mountains Pindus and Octa, and between the rivers Achelous and Pindus. It contained the four towns of Erineus, Bojum, Pindus, and Cytinium, called the Dorica Tetrapolis.

DORIS. A peninsula of Caria, extending where it joins the continent from Halicarnassus to Caunus; both of which are contained within it, according to Ptolemy.

E

ECBATANA. The metropolis of Media, said to have been built by Semiramis, enlarged and fortified by Dejoces, and, after having fallen into decay, restored by Seleucus.

ECBATANA. Pliny speaks of a town of this name in Persia, inhabited by the Magi, and transferred with its inhabitants, to the hill country by Darius.

EION. A city of Thrace, at the mouth of the eastern branch of the river Strymon.

ELATEA. The largest town in Phocis, at least the next in size to Delphi. The Cephissus flowed through it.

ELBO. An island in the fens of Egypt, ten stadia in circumference, said to have been formed with mud and cinders, which the subjects of the blind king Anysis, who supplied him with food during his fifty years' concealment, conveyed thither secretly at his request. The successors of Anysis endeavoured in vain to find this island, but it was discovered above seven hundred and fifty years afterwards by Amyrtæus, and served him as a place of refuge, after his unsuccessful attempt to deliver his country from the dominion of Artaxerxes Longimanus.

ELEPHANTINE. Vide *Ægypt*.

ELEUSIS. A town on the Cephissus between Athens and Megara, where was the famous temple of Ceres, in which the Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated.

ELIS. A state in the Peloponnesus, having the Ionian sea on the west, Achaia on the north, Arcadia on the east, Messenia on the south.

EPHESUS. A magnificent town of Ionia near the mouth of the Cayster, said to have been founded by the Amazons. Herodotus attributes it to Lydia, either because Ionia had been subject to the kings of Lydia, or because Lydia Proper had extended to the sea before an Ionian colony took possession of the coast. The superb temple of Diana stood between the town and the port.

EPHYRA. The ancient name of Corinth.

EPHYRA. The name of a town, called also Cichyrus, in Thesprotia, near the mouth of the river Acheron.

EPIDAMNUS. The first town in that part of Illyria which, being civilised by the admixture of Grecian colonies, was called Grecian Illyria, and extended along the coast between Barbaric Illyria and Epirus, from Epidamnus to Aulon inclusive.

EPI-

EPIDAUROS. A town of Argolis, on the coast of the Saronic gulf, celebrated for the worship and temple of *Æsculapius*.

EPIDAUROS. A town of Dalmatia, on the coast of the Adriatic sea, opposite the island of *Corcyra nigra*.

ERETRIA. A very ancient and opulent town on the western side of the island of *Eubœa*, next in size to *Chalcis*.

ETHIOPIA. Under this name was comprehended the whole breadth of Africa, to the south of *Ægypt*, and of the Libyan dessert. It was distinguished into Ethiopia above *Ægypt*, Western Ethiopia, and Interior Ethiopia. The first extended from Syene along the shores of the Arabian gulf and the Indian ocean, as far as the promontory of *Prasium* in south latitude, and westward of the Nile to the frontier of the Interior Libya and the *Garamantes*. Western Ethiopia lay on the Atlantic ocean, from seven or eight degrees north of the equator, to an undefined distance south of it. A vast unexplored country between these was called by the general name of Interior Ethiopia.

EUBCEA. An island divided by a very narrow streight from the coasts of Attica, *Bœotia*, and *Locris*; about an hundred and fifty miles in length, and forty in breadth where it is widest; terminated at the southern end by the promontory *Gerastus*, which points towards Attica, and *Caphareus*, which points towards the *Hellespont*; at the northern end, by the promontories *Cenæum* and *Artemisium*.

EULEUS. A river that rises in Media, flows in a south-westerly direction through *Susiana*, and encircles the walls of *Susa*. It falls into the Persian gulf to the eastward of the mouth of the *Tigris*, and is thought, on good grounds, to be the same with the *Chœaspes*.

EUPHRATES. A large river, which passes through the ridge of Mount *Taurus* to the westward of the town of *Edessa*, and after a course, for the most part southerly, through *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*, receives the *Tigris*, and falls into the Persian gulf. Its channel, before it reaches the pass of the *Taurus*, is differently laid down by *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Mela*. It is agreed that it rises in the Greater Armenia, but some place its source immediately behind the ridge of the *Taurus*, and suppose it to take a westerly course, following that of the mountain, till, meeting with a barrier,
it

it is turned southward, and forces its way through the pass. Others say that it rises in the northern part of Armenia, and, after a westerly course of some length, turns to the south long before it reaches Mount Taurus. As it is composed like the Nile, of a numerous assemblage of streams, and does not take the name of Euphrates till it reaches Edessa, it is possible that different geographers, who have traced its course on the north side of Taurus, have fixed on different streams as the original river.

EUROPUS. A town on the eastern bank of the Axius, on the confines of Mygdonia and Pelagonia.

EUROTAS. A river, the source of which is on the eastern side of the town of Asea in Arcadia. It flows south-eastward through Laconia, passes on the east side of Sparta, and falls into the Laconic gulf, opposite the island of Cranæ.

G

GABÆ. A town of Persia on the borders of Carmania, and one of the royal residences, situated about twenty-five miles from the sea, on the river Granis or Bagrada.

GAZA. A Town of Gabaza, a district of Sogdiana, between the Oxus and Jaxartes, or Tanais.

GRANIS. Vide **GABÆ.**

GRESTONIA. A district annexed to Macedon by conquest, to the northward of Mygdonia and Pelagonia.

GYGES. Lake of; adjoining to the sepulchre of Alyattis, the father of Croesus, and distant about five miles from Sardis.

H

HEMUS. A vast ridge of mountains, extending from the frontiers of Illyricum to the Pontus Euxinus, and dividing Thrace from the Lower Mœsia; some points of it are said to be so high that both the Adriatic and Euxine seas may be seen from them.

HALICARNASSUS. The principal town of Caria, within the peninsula of Doris; said to have been founded by a colony from Træzen in

in Argolis, under the conduct of Anthes, or his son Aetius, celebrated for its opulence, its port and citadel, and for containing the tomb of Mausolus.

HALYS. The largest river of Asia Minor; its source is in the south-western part of Cappadocia, and its course north-westerly to the Euxine sea, dividing Galatia and Paphlagonia from Cappadocia and Pontus.

HELIOPOLIS. A town in the Lower Egypt, south-east of the vertex of the Delta, celebrated for its temple of the Sun, and for the worship of the ox Mnevis.

HELIOPOLIS. A town in the north-west part of Cælesyria Proper, near the source of the Orontes.

HELLESPONT. A stright which separates Asia from Europe, and connects the Ægean sea with the Propontis. About the middle of it, on the European side, stood Sestus, and, at the entrance of the Propontis, Callipolis. On the Asiatic side, opposite to these respectively were the towns of Abydus and Lampsacus.

HELOS. A maritime town of Laconia, near the mouth of the Eurotas. It was taken by the Spartans, and its inhabitants were made slaves to the Spartan community, principally for the purposes of agriculture. The name of Helot was afterwards extended to other captives who were reduced to the same condition, particularly the Messenians.

HERACLEA. A town in the territory of the Trachinii, a people of Pthiotis, built by a colony from Lacedæmon in the course of the Peloponnesian war. It stood on the north side of the Spercheus, about two miles and a half from the sea. The Lacedæmonians also formed docks in its neighbourhood, just at the entrance of the pass of Thermopylæ, and opposite Cenæum, the north western promontory of Eubœa.

HERACLEA. A town in Lucania, on the northern side of the mouth of the river Aciris, which falls into the bay of Tarentum.

HERCYNA is said to have been a nymph, from whose hands a goose escaped, while she was playing with Proserpine in the grove of Trophonius; the bird took shelter under a stone in a cavern; on moving the stone, water burst out from two sources, and formed a stream, which was called Hercyna, from the name of the nymph; the sources were named, one, the Fountain of Memory, the other of Oblivion.

HERMO-

HERMOPOLIS. The name of two cities in Egypt, distinguished by the appellation of Great and Small; the former in the Heptanomis, at some distance from the western bank of the Nile, gives its name to the Hermopolitic nome; the latter is in lower Egypt, on the western side of the Canopic branch.

HYMETTUS. A mountain of Attica, near Athens, celebrated for its honey, and for quarries of the finest marble.

HYRCANIA. A province of the Persian empire, extending along the coast of the Caspian or Hyrcanian sea, from Media westward to the Oxus. Bounded on the south by Parthia, on the east by Margiana.

I

IDOMENE, or IDOMENÆ. The name of a town in Amathia, on the northern bank of the Axios: also of two hillocks, with a narrow pass between them.

IDUMÆA PROPER. A district of Arabia Petræa, extending northward to the countries of Moab and Judæa. During the captivity of the Jews, the Idumæans possessed themselves of the country between the Mediterranean and the lake Asphaltites, as high as Hebron, which from thence is sometimes called the Upper Idumæa.

ILISSUS. A river of Attica, which passes on the eastern side of Athens, and having joined the Eridanus, which passes on the western side, a little below the town, falls into the Saronic gulf between Munychia and Phalerum.

INDIA. A country in Asia of great extent, divided into India within the Ganges, and India beyond the Ganges. The former, according to Ptolemy, is bounded by the country of the Paropamisadæ, Arachosia, and Gedrosia on the west, the mountain Imaus on the north, the Ganges on the east, and the Indian ocean on the south. Other geographers make the river Indus the western boundary. The latter has the Ganges on the west, Scythia and Serica on the north, the region of the Sinæ on the east, and the Indian ocean on the south.

INDUS. A river which rises in the mountain Paropamisus, receives nineteen other streams, and flows with a south-west course to the Indian ocean.

IONIA.

IONIA. A Grecian colony on the coast of Asia Minor, comprehending also the islands of Samos and Chios, and containing twelve considerable towns, of which Phocæa is the northernmost, and Miletus the southernmost. Ptolemy confines it within the rivers Hermus and Meander.

IRE. A maritime town of Messenia, on the confines of Laconia, called afterwards Abia.

ITHACA. An island in the Ionian sea, between Cephallenia and the coast of Ætolia.

ITHOME. A mountain of Messenia, said to have received its name from one of the nurses of Jupiter. Also a town of the same name near the foot of the mountain, destroyed by the Spartans in the twenty-fourth Olympiad, but afterwards rebuilt. When the Messenian exiles were restored by Epaminondas, the new metropolis, Messene, seems to have been built on the site of Ithome, or adjoining to it, and the two towns to have been inclosed by a common wall. A part of the mountain was also taken in, and formed into a citadel like the Acrocorinthus.

JUDÆA. Used in an extended sense for the whole of Palestine, and bounded on the west by the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean sea, on the north by Syria, on the east by Cælesyria, on the south by Arabia Petrea.

L

LACEDÆMON. The metropolis of Laconia, on the western side of the Eurotas.

LACONIA. A state in the Peloponnesus, bounded on the west by Messenia, on the north by Arcadia and Argolis, on the east by the Sinus Argolicus, on the south by the Sinus Laconicus. It extends along the coast from Prasie to the promontory of Tænarus.

LAMPSACUS. A town on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, at the entrance of the Propontis.

LATMOS. A town and mountain on the coast of Caria according to Ptolemy, of Ionia according to others, it being north of Miletus. The town was afterwards called Heraclea.

LEBADEA, or LEBADIA. A town of Bœotia on the confines of Phocis, where was the oracle of Trophonius.

LECHÆUM. Vide **CORINTH**.

LEONTINI, or **LEONTIUM**. A town on the eastern side of Sicily near the sea, between Syracuse and Catana.

LESBOS. An island near the coast of Asia Minor, inhabited by the *Æolians*, and said to be named from Lesbus, a grandson of *Æolus*.

LEUCADIA. A peninsula of Acarnania in the time of Homer, and probably as late as the Peloponnesian war; afterwards made an island by cutting through the isthmus.

LOCRI. A district of Greece divided by the mountain Parnassus into *Hither Locris*, or the country of the *Locri Ozolæ*, between *Ætolia* and *Phocis*, and *Farther Locris*, which extends to *Thermopylæ* and along the *Euripus* of *Eubœa*. This latter is subdivided into the country of the *Locri Opuntii* along the *Euripus*, and the *Locrii Epicnemidii*, more northward, near the mountain *Cnemis*.

LYDIA PROPER, anciently called *Mæonia*. A country of Asia Minor, bounded by *Ionia* on the west, *Mysia* in the north, *Phrygia* on the east, and *Caria* on the south. Under this name are sometimes comprehended the whole dominions of *Cresus*, which extended to the *Halys*.

M

MACEDONIA. Upper Macedonia was a mountainous country inhabited by numerous tribes, of which the *Lyncestæ* and *Elimiotæ* were the most powerful; but the others, though allies and subordinate to these, had each a separate government. Lower Macedonia, to the east of the former, was subject to kings of Argive extraction, who at first fled thither for an asylum, and gradually usurped the sovereignty. They soon extended their dominions to the sea, by the conquest of *Pieria* and *Bottiaæ*; they also possessed themselves of a narrow tract of *Pæonia* along the *Axius*, of *Mygdonia* from the *Axius* to the *Strymon*, of *Edonia*, *Eordia*, and *Almopia*, *Anthemus*, *Grestonia*, and *Bisaltia*; all of which, as it accrued, they comprehended under the general name of Macedonia. The country, therefore, had Upper Macedonia on the west, beyond which was *Illyria*, mount *Hæmus*, and the *Strymon* on the north, the *Chalcidic* region and *Thermaic* gulf on the east, and *Thessaly* on the south.

MAG-

MAGDOLUM. The name of two towns in Egypt, one on the western side of the Arabian gulf not far from the extremity of it, the other a little to the south of Pelusium.

MAGNESIA. A peninsula between the gulfs of Therma and Pagasa, subject to Thessaly, and bounded by it on the western side.

MALEA. A promontory at the southern end of the island of Lesbos.

MARATHON. One of the *Δημοί* of Attica to the north-east of Athens, near the shore of the Euripus.

MEDIA. A large country in Asia, bounded on the west by the Greater Armenia, on the north by the Caspii Cadusii and the Caspian Sea, on the east by Hyrcania and Parthia, on the south by Persia, Susiana, and part of Assyria.

MEGARIS. A small state of Greece on the Saronic gulf, between the Athenian and Corinthian territories.

MELOS. Vide *CYCLADES*.

MEMPHIS. A large and populous town of Egypt, on the western side of the Nile in the Heptanomis, not far from the vertex of the Delta.

MENDES. A town in the Delta, near the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, to which it gives its name.

MESSENIA. A state of the Peloponnesus, extending along the coast from the promontory of Tænarus to the town of Cyparissa, and bounded by Laconia, Arcadia, and Elis.

MESSANA. A town in Sicily, situated on the streight which divides it from Italy; so called from the Messenians who settled there, when they were expelled from their own country by the Spartans. The ancient name was Zancle, from the Sicilian word *Ζανκλος*, a sickle, which it resembled in its form.

METHYMNA. A considerable town on the eastern side of the island of Lesbos.

MILETUS. The most considerable town of Ionia, on the confines of Caria, celebrated for the number of its colonies, and for an oracular temple of Apollo.

MITYLENE. The capital of Lesbos, near the promontory Malia.

MOLYCRIA. A small town in Ætolia, a little to the west of the promontory Antirrhium, at the entrance of the Corinthian gulf.

MUNYCHIA. A port belonging to Athens, smaller than the Piræus, and situated between the Piræus and the mouth of the Ilissus.

MYCALE. A promontory of Ionia, opposite the south-eastern point of the island of Samos, from which it is divided by a narrow strait.

MYCENÆ. Was the capital of Argolis in the time of the Trojan war; afterwards it went gradually to decay, and the latest mention of it is in Polybius's account of the war with Nabis, tyrant of Sparta. When Strabo wrote, no vestige of it was remaining.

MYGDONIA. Vide **MACEDONIA**.

N

NAUPACTUS. The frontier town of Ætolia, towards the Locri Ozolæ, on the Corinthian gulf. It derived its name from the ships that were constructed there.

NEMEA. A river which separated the territories of Sicyon and Corinth. Near its source was a town of the same name, in the territory of Argolis.

NISA. A town in Lycia, near the source of the Xanthus.

NISÆA. The port of Megara, at a little more than two miles distance, and connected with it by long walls.

NISÆAN PLAINS. An extensive tract of level country east of Ecbatana, towards the Portæ Caspiæ, famous for its breed of horses.

NYSA. An inland town of Lydia, between the Cayster and Mæander.

NYSA. The fabulous birth-place of Bacchus. Its situation doubtful; said by Diodorus, in one place, to be between Phœnice and the Nile; in another, to be in Arabia Felix, near the Egyptian frontier.

O

ŒNOE. A fortified frontier town of Attica, towards Bœotia, near the source of the Eridanus.

ŒTA. A ridge of mountains dividing Thessaly from Doris and Locris.

OLPÆ. A town of Acarnania, on the Sinus Ambracius, about three miles from Argos Amphilocheum.

OLYMPIA. A grove and temple of Jupiter in Pisatis, a district of Elis. There was probably a town of the same name near the grove, built not far from

from the site of a more ancient one called Pisa, which had been destroyed by the Eleans. Some, however, deny the existence of such a town as Pisa, and say the district received its name from a fountain called Pisa, near Olympia.

OLYNTIUS. The most considerable town in the Regio Chalcidice, situated just on the outside of the isthmus of Pallene.

ORONTES. A mountain in the northern part of Media.

P

PACTOLUS. A river of Lydia, which rises in mount Tmolus, and passing by Sardes falls into the Hermus, which discharges itself into the Aegean sea between Phocæa and Smyrna.

PALLACOPAS. A channel derived from that branch of the Euphrates which passes through Babylon. It commences about an hundred miles below the city, and is continued along the level country of Chaldæa towards the confines of Arabia Deserta, forming a number of small lakes in its course, in one of which it terminates.

PAMPHYLIA. A district in the peninsula of Asia, bounded on the south by the Mediterranean, along the coast of which it extends from Olbia inclusive to the river Melas, by Lycia in the west, Pisidia and Isauria on the north, Cilicia on the east.

PARNASSUS. A mountain in Phocis.

PAROS. Vide CYCLADES.

PARTHIA. A country of Asia, bounded by Media and Persia on the west, Carmania on the south, Aria on the east, Hyrcania on the north.

PASARGADA. An ancient royal residence in Persia, on the river Cyrus.

PATRÆ. A town in Achaia, on the coast of the Ionian sea, a little south of the entrance of the Corinthian gulf.

PAGÆ. A town in the mountainous part of Megaris, near the confines of Bœotia, and just at the entrance of the isthmus of Corinth.

PELASGIOTIS. The third region of Thessaly, so called from its ancient inhabitants the Pelasgi, bounded by Thessaliotis on the north, Pthiotis on the south, Magnesia on the east.

PELLA.

PELLA. A town on the confines of *Æmathia* and *Bottiaea*, the residence of the kings of Macedon. It was situated on a small eminence surrounded by deep lakes and morasses, in the nearest of which rose a strong citadel, that at a distance appeared to be part of the town, and was connected with it by a bridge over the *Axius*, which flowed between the walls of the town and citadel, and made the latter equally secure as a fortress or as a prison.

PELOPONNESUS. A peninsula joined to the continent of Greece by the isthmus of Corinth, and containing within the isthmus the states of *Achaia*, *Elis*, *Messenia*, *Laconia*, and *Argolis* on the coast, and *Arcadia* in the centre.

PELUSIUM. A large fortified town in Egypt, on the eastern side of the *Pelusiæ* mouth of the Nile, about two miles and a half from the sea.

PERRHÆBI. A tribe who formed a settlement in the maritime part of *Thessaly*, from the *Enipeus* eastward, to the mouth of the *Peneus*, and from thence along the coast to the mountains *Ossa* and *Pelion*, within the peninsula of *Magnesia*. Some of them also extended north of the *Peneus*, as far as Mount *Olympus*. Being expelled from thence by the *Lapithæ*, they retired westward, and took refuge on Mount *Pindus*, and along the confines of the *Dolopians*, *Athamanians*, and *Ætolians*.

PERSEPOLIS. The metropolis of *Persia Proper*; and a royal residence, situated on the eastern side of the *Araxes*.

PERSIA PROPER. Bounded by *Elymais* on the west, from which it is separated by the *Pasitigris* or *Orontes*, by *Media* on the north, *Carmania* on the east, and the *Persian Gulf* on the south. On the land side it is surrounded by high mountains, and accessible only by narrow passes through them, of which the most remarkable are those which communicate with *Susiana*, near the source of the *Pasitigris*, called indifferently *Pylæ Persides* and *Pylæ Susides*.

PHALERUM. One of the Attick *Δημοί* a little to the east of the mouth of the *Ilissus*; the principal port and naval arsenal of Athens before the construction of the *Piræus* by *Themistocles*: it was connected with Athens by long walls.

PHASIS. A large river which rises on the borders of *Armenia*, and flows through the country of *Colchis*, first in a northerly, then in a westerly direction: it falls into the eastern extremity of the *Pontus Euxinus*.

PHILÆ.

PHILÆ. An island in the Nile, containing a town of the same name, the southernmost in Egypt, about twelve miles within the tropic. The lesser cataract is between the islands of Philæ and Elephantine.

PHOCIS. A state of Greece, bounded by Locris, Bœotia, and the Corinthian Gulf; its territory extended anciently to the coast of the Eubœan Sea, a narrow tract of it passing between the Locri Epicnemidii and the Locri Opuntii.

PHENICE. A country extending along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, bounded on the north by the north-western part of Syria, afterwards called Seleucis and Antiochene, by Cœlesyria on the east, and by Palestine on the south.

PHRYGIA. Vide *ASIA MINOR*.

PHTHIOTIS. The southernmost of the four divisions of Thessaly, extending westward to Mount Pindus and the territory of the Dolopians, and eastward to the sea between the Sinus Pegasæus and the Sinus Maliacus; bounded by Pelasgiotis on the north, and the ridge of Mount Cœta on the south.

PIRÆEUS. One of the Attick *Δημοί* to the west of the mouth of the Ilissus, and of Munychia; less convenient for a naval arsenal than Phalerum, in respect of its distance from the city, which was considerably greater; but this disadvantage was compensated by the contiguity of three small natural bays, which Themistocles enclosed and fortified, and connected the whole with the city by long walls.

PIRENE. Vide *ACROCORINTHUS*.

PISA. Vide *OLYMPIA*.

PLATÆA, or PLATÆÆ. A town of Bœotia, near the fort of Mount Cithæron, and on the south side of the Asopas. It was on the confines of Attica and Megaris, and adjoining to the road from Thebes to Athens and Megara.

PORTUS ALBUS. A port of Upper Egypt on the Arabian Gulf, about two degrees north of the tropic.

PORTUS ITAMUS. A port of Arabia Felix on the Persian Gulf, a little south of the ridge of mountains which separates Arabia Felix from Arabia Deserta.

POTIDÆA.

POTIDÆA. An opulent town on the peninsula of the isthmus of Pallene.

PYLUS. A maritime town in the south-west part of Messenia, near the foot of the mountain Ægaleus.

R

RHEGIUM. A town and promontory at the southern extremity of Italy, on the streight which divides it from Sicily. The town was built soon after the taking of Ira or Eira by the Lacedæmonians, by a colony composed of Messenians and Chalcidians from Eubœa, and named Rhegium from the tradition that the continent and the island of Sicily had been violently broken asunder.

RHIUM. A promontory (called also Drepanum, from being curved inwards in the form of a sickle) on the coast of Achaia, at the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf; there was a town of the same name immediately behind it. The opposite promontory on the coast of Ætolia was called Antirrhium, and the streight between them not quite a mile wide.

RHODES. A considerable island on the southern coast of Asia Minor, opposite the coasts of Caria and Lycia; its metropolis, built on the eastern side of the island during the Peloponnesian war, bore the same name.

S

SABÆA. A district of considerable extent in the south-west part of Arabia Felix, extending to the Arabian Gulf and Indian Ocean.

SAIS. A considerable town in the Delta, once the metropolis of Lower Egypt, situated about midway between the two western branches of the Nile.

SALAMIS. An island about nine or ten miles in length in the Sinus Saronicus, opposite Eleusis.

SAMOS. An island near the coast of Ionia, opposite to the promontory Mycale, and to Ephesus.

SAMOTHRACE. An island distant about thirty-eight miles from the coast of Thrace, opposite to the mouths of the Hebrus. It was anciently called Samos, which signifies height, probably from the great height of one of its mountains, from the top of which Ida and Troy were visible, and the
the

the epithet *Thracian* was added for the purpose of distinction. It contained a temple equally celebrated with that of Eleusis for its mysteries, and considered as a most sacred asylum.

SARDES. The capital of Lydia, on the Pactolus, near the foot of the mountain *Tmolus*.

SCYRUS. An island in the *Ægean* sea, opposite the middle of the eastern side of *Eubœa*.

SCYTHIA. An undefined tract of country, comprising all the northern part of Asia from the *Palus*, *Mæotis*, and the river *Tanais* eastward, to the country of the *Ceres*, or, including these, to the Eastern Ocean; and extending in latitude from the *Hyperborean* Ocean to the northern shores of the *Euxine* and *Caspian* Seas, the *Jaxartes*, and the chain of mountains that form the northern boundary of India.

SERBON, or SERBONIS. A lake in *Ægypt*, towards the confines of *Palæstine*, about twenty-five miles in length, narrow, and very deep. It runs parallel to the sea at about six miles distance, and communicates with it by a narrow outlet at the western end, called *Ecregma*, which passes near the foot of *Mount Casius*.

SICILY. The largest island in the *Mediterranean*, separated from Italy by a very narrow strait; of a triangular form, with a promontory at each angle, *Pelorus* towards Italy, *Pachynus* towards Greece, *Lilybeum* towards Africa.

SICYONIA. A small state in the *Peloponnesus*, bounded by *Achaia*, *Argolis*, and the territory of *Corinth*.

SIDON. A very ancient and opulent commercial town on the coast of *Phœnicæ*, about thirty miles north of *Tyre*.

SIGEUM. A promontory, town, and naval arsenal in *Troas*, near the entrance of the *Hellespont*.

SMYRNA. A considerable town on the coast of *Ionia*, founded by a colony of *Ephesians*, who themselves were originally called *Smyrniæans*. It stood a little south of the mouth of the *Hermus*, and its walls were washed by the *Meles*, near the source of which was a cavern, where *Homer* is said to have composed his poems.

SOGDIANA. A region of Asia, separated from Scythia by the Jaxartes, and from Bactria by the Oxus ; its eastern and western boundaries are less certain.

SPARTA. The original name of the metropolis of Laconia, the other name, Lacedæmon, taken from the country, being of a later date.

SPARTOLUS. A town of the Bottiæans, who, after their expulsion from Bottiæa by the Macedonians, established themselves on the confines of the Regio Chalcidice, a part of Thrace, peopled for the most part by Grecian colonies.

STRYMON. A river whose sources are in Mount Pangæus in Thrace. The upper part of its course separated Thrace from Macedonia ; the lower (perhaps from the division of the stream at Amphipolis) was entirely in Thrace, between the Regio Chalcidice and Edonis.

SUNIUM. A town and promontory of Attica, at the entrance of the Saronic gulf.

SUSA. The metropolis of Susiana, on the Eulæus or Choaspes, a royal residence, said to have been built by Tithonus, or rather by his son Memnon, and to have been restored by Darius the son of Hystaspes.

SYBARIS. A town of Lucania, between the rivers Sybaris and Crathis, founded, about the year of Rome thirty-four, by a colony of Achæans and Træzenians ; having grown very populous, opulent, and luxurious, it was conquered and razed to the ground by the Crotonians about the time of the expulsion of the Tarquins. The remnant and descendants of its inhabitants, assisted by some Thessalians, rebuilt it about fifty-eight years afterwards, but in six years it was again destroyed by the jealousy of the Crotonians. The Sybarites once more, with the assistance of colonists from various parts of Greece, but particularly from Athens and Sparta, built a new town, by the advice of an oracle, at a little distance from the site of the former, round the fountain Thuria, whence it was called Thurium. Soon after, the old inhabitants arrogating an exclusive title to honors and magistracy, though very unequal in strength to their new associates, were completely exterminated by them. Factions prevailed among these also, in consequence of their different origin, and, after the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, their party was expelled by that of the Lacedæmonians.

SYENE.

SYENE. Vide ^{THE}EGYPT.

SYRACUSE. A large and powerful town on the eastern side of Sicily, which, besides a harbour on the north side of it, called *Portus Troglitorum*, contained two which it almost surrounded, called the Great Harbour, and the *Portus Laccius*. These were separated by the island *Ortygia*, which was considered as one of the quarters of the town, being fully built, peopled, and fortified, and joined to the main land by a bridge over a narrow channel that connected the interior part of the *Portus Laccius* with the Great Harbour. North of the small harbour lay the quarter called *Acradina*, much superior to the rest in size, strength, and splendour; a complete town in itself, and fortified on every side. The two harbours washed its walls on the south, the *Mare Siculum* on the east, and the *Portus Troglitorum* on the north. It was separated from *Tycha* by a strong rampart. *Tycha* was so called from an old temple of Fortune, and, though much smaller, was completely fortified like *Acradina*, from which it extended westward, a little inclining to the north. South of *Tycha*, and smaller still, was the fourth quarter, called *Temenites*, from a statue of *Apollo Temenites*. It was afterwards enlarged and called *Neapolis*. North-west of the town was an eminence which commanded it, called *Epipolæ*, afterwards inclosed within the walls to serve as a citadel, but not inhabited.

SYRIA. The limits of this country, laid down in one place by *Strabo*, are *Cilicia* and *Mount Amanus* on the north, the *Euphrates* and the *Scenite* *Arabians* on the east, *Arabia Petrea* and *Ægypt* to the south. This description includes *Phœnicæ* and *Palæstine*.

SYRUS. Vide CYCLES.

T

TANAGRA. A town of *Ætolia*, not far from the shore of the *Euripus*.

TANAIS. A river of *Sarmatia*, which rises in the *Rhiphæan* mountains, and after a long course eastward, turns to the south, and returning as far westward, falls into the *Palus Mæotis*; the lower part of its course divides *Europe* from *Asia*.

TAOCE. A town and promontory of *Persia* on the *Persian gulf*.

TARSUS. A considerable town of Cilicia Campēstris, on the river Cydnus.

TENEDOS. A small island opposite the coast of the Hellespontian Phrygia.

TENTYRA. A town in Thebais, on the western side of the Nile.

TEOS. An ancient town with a harbour, at the south-west angle of the peninsula of Ionia.

THEBES. Afterwards called Diospolis Magna, the metropolis of the Thebais. The town itself was on the eastern or Arabian bank of the Nile, but the Memnonium, which was considered as belonging to it, on the Libyan.

THEBES. The most considerable town in Bœotia, on the Ismenus; the citadel, which was more ancient than the other parts of it, was built by Cadmus, and retained the name of Cadmea.

THESSALY. The most northern state of Greece, extending on the eastern side from Thermopylæ to the mouth of the Peneus, on the south under the ridge of Mount Œta to Mount Pindus, on the west along the frontiers of Athamania, Perrhæbia, and part of Epirus, on the north to Macedonia.

THERMOPYLÆ. A very narrow pass, with steep mountains on one hand, and the sea on the other, leading from Thessaly into Phocis and Bœotia.

THORICUS. A *Δῆμος* belonging to the tribe Acamantis.

THRACE. A region bounded on the north by the ridges of Mount Hæmus, and extending from thence along the shores of the Euxine, the Propontis, and Ægean, as far as the gulf of Torone.

THURIUM. Vide SYBARIS.

TIBER. A river of Italy, which rises on the western side of the Apennines, separates Etruria from Umbria, the country of the Sabines and Latium, and having passed through Rome, discharges itself by two mouths into the Mare Tyrrhenum,

TIGRIS. A large river of Asia, the source of which is at Elegosine in the level country of the Greater Armenia. It flows at first very slowly,
and

and is called Diglito: afterwards becoming rapid, it assumes the name of Tigris or the Arrow; having reached the mountain Taurus or Niphates, it is lost in subterraneous passages, and emerging on the other side of the mountain forms the eastern boundary of Mesopotamia and Babylonia; at the southern extremity of which it joins the Euphrates, and falls with it into the Persian Gulf. Some geographers consider the place where it emerges as the original source of the river.

TMOLUS. A mountain and town of Lydia near Sardes.

TRÆZEN, or TRÆZENE. A town at the eastern extremity of Argolis, near the Scyllæan promontory.

TROY, or ILIUM. A town in the Hellespontian Phrygia.

TYRE. A very powerful commercial town, on a small island, almost contiguous to the coast of Phœnice. It was founded by the Sidonians, and stood originally on the shore of the continent, a little south of the island, on which it is supposed to have been rebuilt, after the destruction of the former town by the Assyrians.

Z

ZACYNTHUS. An island in the Ionian Sea, opposite the coast of Elia, and peopled by a colony from Achaia.

ZELEIA. The name of two towns, one in Troas near the foot of Mount Ida, on the banks of the *Æsepus*, the other in Pontus, on the river *Lycus*, and on the confines of the Lesser Armenia.

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

| | |
|--|----------|
| <i>ADVERTISEMENT.</i> | Page vii |
| <i>PREFACE to the Edition of 1741.</i> | xi |
| <i>PREFACE to the Edition of 1781.</i> | xv |
| <i>GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.</i> | xxi |

LETTERS.

First Year of the Peloponnesian War.

LETTER

I. CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, *chief scribe to ARTAXERXES king of Persia.*

His arrival at Athens, and admission amongst the *persecuted*, or strangers residing there. The preparations for war. The surprise of Platæa by the Thebans. The sentiments of the people concerning the causes of the rupture.

Page 1

II. CLEANDER to HIPPIAS his brother, *a merchant at Ephesus.*

A description of the port Piræus. Some reflections on trade and the Athenian greatness.

4

LETTER

III. CLEANDER to ARTAPHERNES, governor of Sardis.

The war declared. A list of the land and naval forces of Athens. The Peloponnesian army in full march for Attica. The inhabitants of the country removed into the city. Reasons for that measure, and the inconveniences of it. - - - - - Page 6

IV. CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS, one of the seven counsellors of state to the king of Persia, and general of his army.

The secret causes of the war explained at large, and the character and conduct of PERICLES discussed. - - - - - 8

V. CLEANDER to HYDASPES, first chamberlain to the king of Persia.

The different manners of Greece and Asia described. - - - - - 11

VI. GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

CLEANDER's diligence and behaviour approved by the Persian council. Remarks on the advantages like to accrue to Persia by the Grecian divisions. Ordered to join in distressing the measures of PERICLES. - - - - - 13

VII. HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

The marriage of ARASPES and ARAMINTA at the court of Ecbatana. The character of ORSAMES, a young nobleman, who is just setting out upon his travels. - - - - - 15

VIII. CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians. The Athenians, by the advice of PERICLES, keep within their walls. The murmurs of the opposite party at this conduct. A fleet sent out to ravage the enemy's coasts. - - - - - 19

IX. HIPPIAS to his brother CLEANDER.

Accounts of the hindrance to trade in the Persian dominions, and of a journey to Ecbatana. - - - - - 22

X. ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Description of Babylon. Intention to pass through Arabia in his way to Egypt. - - - - - 24

CONTENTS.

liii

LETTER

XI. CLEANDER *to* OTANES.

A survey of the city of Athens. Some of its magnificent structures described. - - - - - Page 28

XII. CLEANDER *to* MEGABYZUS.

The Athenian custom of making a solemn funeral for those that died in battle. The solemnity described, and its use commended. - 31

XIII. CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS.

On the Athenian constitution. - - - - - 36

XIV. GOBRYAS *to* CLEANDER.

He expresses the satisfaction he receives from his dispatches. Sends him a mark of the king's bounty. Informs him of the resolutions of the Persian council with regard to Grecian affairs, and of an embassy from the Peloponnesian allies to the court of Persia. - - 40

XV. HYDASPES *to* CLEANDER.

Account of a magnificent sacrifice and entertainment at Susa. - 43

Second year of the Peloponnesian War.

XVI. CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS.

Obeys the king's orders in retiring to Salamis during the plague. Account of that fatal calamity, and the miserable state of Athens. Invasion of the Peloponnesian army. - - - - - 47

XVII. SMERDIS *the Mage*, *to* CLEANDER.

Tranquillity of his Bactrian solitude. Concern for the safety of CLEANDER. Increase of luxury in Greece. - - - - - 51

XVIII. CLEANDER *to* ORSAMES.

Compliments him upon his rising character. Lays before him the general state of Greece and *Aegypt*. - - - - - 55

XIX. CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES.

Description of his retreat in Salamis. Characters of several of the Greek poets. - - - - - 58

VOL. I.

G

LETTER

XX. CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

Commiserates the deplorable state of Athens. Enquires into the origin of the evil principle ARIMANIUS, and the reason of his being permitted to afflict mankind. The arrival of HIPPOCRATES the physician. - Page 66

XXI. ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Describes his journey through Arabia Felix. - - - 70

XXII. CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Ill success of PERICLES at Epidaurus. The siege of Potidæa in Thrace by the Athenians. Anecdotes relating to the causes of the war. Plague continues. Honours bestowed on HIPPOCRATES. - - - 74

XXIII. ARTAPHERNES to CLEANDER.

Gives him an account of his promotion to the government of Lydia. State of the province. Company at MEGABYZUS's palace near Ecbatana. Court news. - - - 78

XXIV. MEGABYZUS to CLEANDER.

Lays before him a plan of politics for recovering the affairs of Persia. Further information about the Peloponnesian embassy. Instructs him on that head. Assures him of the royal favour. - - - 80

XXV. ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

His arrival at Thebes in Egypt. The grandeur of that city described, with the pillars of HERMES. - - - 83

XXVI. CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

The Lacedæmonians' refusal to accept the Athenian proposals for a peace discourages the people. PERICLES endeavours to raise their spirits. They remove him from his command. But determine to continue the war. Send secret orders to the resident in Thrace relating to the Peloponnesian ambassadors. - - - 88

XXVII. CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

State of philosophy in Greece. Account of the Ionick sect. - 91

LETTER

XXVIII. GOBRYAS *to* CLEANDER.

Reflections on PERICLES's removal. Tells him that SITALCES has delivered up the Peloponnesian ambassadors, notwithstanding the king of Persia's instances in their favour. Wishes that CLEANDER could save them from the fury of the Athenians. - - Page 95

XXIX. ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER.

Account of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. - - - 97

XXX. HYDASPES *to* CLEANDER.

The Court removes to Babylon. Popular behaviour of ARTAXERXES. Surprising discovery of ARTABAZUS's daughter. Defeat of the Cadusians. - - - 99

XXXI. CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS.

Execution of the Peloponnesian ambassadors by a decree of the people. Pretences for that barbarous measure. Potidea in Thrace surrendered to the Athenians. - - - 102

XXXII. ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER.

Further remarks on the hieroglyphics. - - - 104

XXXIII. CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS.

Returns to Athens upon the ceasing of the plague. PERICLES restored. Introduced to that minister, and his conversation with him. Account of the peculiar manner of fitting out ships at Athens. - 106

XXXIV. CLEANDER *to* OTANES.

Further description of the city. - - - 110

XXXV. CLEANDER *to* MEGABYZUS.

Sends commentaries of some eminent statesmen among the Greeks. Their characters briefly touched upon. Anecdote relating to THEMISTOCLES. - - - 114

Third year of the Peloponnesian War.

LETTER

XXXVI. *CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.*

Messages between the Athenians, Platæans, and Lacedæmonians. Platæa besieged by the latter. Defeat of the former in Thrace. - Page 117

XXXVII. *SMERDIS to CLEANDER.*

Endeavours to clear up his doubts concerning the evil principle. Relates the opinions of some eminent Magi on that head. - 120

XXXVIII. *CLEANDER to ORSAMES.*

Account of the Italic sect and PYTHAGORAS its founder. - 125

XXXIX. *CLEANDER to HYDASPES.*

Accounts for the obscurity and uncertainty of the history of the first times of Greece. - - - - - 130

XL. *CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.*

PERICLES's death. The circumstances attending it. A fine saying of his. - - - - - 134

XLI. *CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.*

A full view of PERICLES's character and politics. - - 137

XLII. *ORSAMES to CLEANDER.*

Description of OSMANDUAS's tomb at Thebes. Fine prospect from Isis's temple. Prepares to set out for Syene. - - - 143

XLIII. *CLEANDER to HYDASPES.*

Short account of the earlier Greek historians. Character of HERODOTUS. - - - - - 150

XLIV. *GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.*

Reflections on the contents of some of his former letters. An agent arrived from Lacedæmon, whose conduct and instructions are disapproved. - - - - - 154

XLV. *CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.*

Siege of Platæa continued. Unsuccessful expedition of the Peloponnesians against Acarnania. Naval victory obtained by the Athenians under the command of PHORMIO. - - - 157

LETTER

| | |
|---|----------|
| XLVI. PHORMIO <i>to the senate and people of Athens.</i> | |
| Particulars of the action. Presses for reinforcements. | Page 159 |
| XLVII. ORSAMES <i>to CLEANDER.</i> | |
| Journey to Syene. Particular worship of a district in the Thebaid nome. | |
| Account of the Hermetic books. Cataracts of the Nile. | 169 |
| XLVIII. CLEANDER <i>to SMERDIS.</i> | |
| Character of SOCRATES. | 167 |
| XLIX. CLEANDER <i>to ORSAMES.</i> | |
| Conversation with THUCYDIDES on the disposition and temper of the Athenians. His character, and design for writing a history. | 169 |
| L. CLEANDER <i>to GOBRYAS.</i> | |
| Second engagement between PHORMIO and the Corinthians. Delays in sending him supplies. The party prevailing at Athens described. | |
| Character of CLEON. | 173 |
| LI. HYDASPES <i>to CLEANDER.</i> | |
| Remarks on the military discipline of Persia. Description of a camp in the plains of Babylon. | 177 |
| LII. CLEANDER <i>to SMERDIS.</i> | |
| A conversation with SOCRATES on the banks of the river Ilissus. | 182 |
| LIII. ORSAMES <i>to CLEANDER.</i> | |
| His voyage down the Nile from Syene to Heliopolis. Description of the country during the inundation. Ceremonies performed at the cutting of the banks. Physical reasons assigned by the priests for the annual overflowing of the Nile. | 186 |
| LIV. CLEANDER <i>to GOBRYAS.</i> | |
| Attempt to surprize the Piræus proves ineffectual. Blockade of Platæa. Discovery of a treasonable correspondence between SACAS the eunuch, and PERICLES. | 191 |
| LV. CLEANDER <i>to HIPPIAS.</i> | |
| Conversation with an Athenian on the effects of liberty to excite a national valour. | 196 |
| LVI. CLEANDER <i>to HIPPIAS.</i> | |
| Conversation with the same on the law of Ostracism. | 199 |

Fourth year of the Peloponnesian War.LETTERLVII. CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Further account of the Athenian constitution. Of the Archons, Areopagus, and other courts of judicature. - - Page 204

LVIII. GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

SACAS seized. His examination and sentence. Interest used to save him. Another agent from Sparta expected. - - - 210

LIX. CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

Characters of the Grecian sages compared with ZOROASTER. 213

LX. CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.

Account of the military discipline of the Greeks. - - 222

LXI. SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

On the want of discipline in the schools of the Magi. - 229

LXII. CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Revolt of Lesbos. CLEANDER in danger of being discovered. 232

LXIII. SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

On the abuse of travelling. - - - - 237

LXIV. CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Characters of his companions in his Olympic expedition. - 241

LXV. ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

Orders of the Egyptian priests. Their manner of life. Account of the Cabiri. - - - - 245

LXVI. CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Journey from Athens to Megara. - - - - 251

LXVII. CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Corinth described. Its most remarkable buildings. - - 255

CONTENTS.

lix

LETTER

LXVIII. CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS.

Short history of Corinth, their naval strength and situation. Page 258

LXIX. CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES.

Description of the temple of JUPITER, and other curiosities of Olympia. - - - - - 261

LXX. HYDASPES *to* CLEANDER.

Execution of SACAS. Some Median lords examined. Character of NICANDER, the new Spartan Agent, and of CRATIPPUS, the Rhodian sophist. - - - - - 266

LXXI. SMERDIS *to* CLEANDER.

The Grecian and Persian philosophy compared. Some mistakes of the former in their Accounts of the Persian religion censured. - 270

LXXII. CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES.

Celebration of the games. The different incidents and other particulars relating to them. - - - - - 274

LXXIII. CLEANDER *to* GOBRYAS.

Audience given by the allies to the Mitylenian deputies; resolutions thereupon. - - - - - 282

LXXIV. GOBRYAS *to* CLEANDER.

Discoveries relating to the Median lords. Commission given to CRATIPPUS. Conference between himself and NICANDER the Spartan resident. - - - - - 284

LXXV. ORSAMES *to* CLEANDER.

His sentiments on the animal worship and mythology of the Egyptians. - - - - - 289

LXXVI. CLEANDER *to* HYDASPES.

Gives him an account of the prosecution commenced by CLEON against ARISTOPHANES before the Areopagus: their several pleadings before that court: wishes, that the satirical species of wit were abolished out of the world. - - - - - 294

LETTER

LXXVII. *CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.*

Obliged on his return to serve on board the Athenian fleet. Escape of the Platæans. State of the siege of Mitylene. *CLEON's* corruption detected. Plan of a comedy of *ARISTOPHANES*. - Page 299

LXXXVIII. *CRATIPPUS to CLEANDER.*

Some account of his family. Arrival and reception at Sparta. Death of *ARCHIDAMUS*. - - - - - 303

LXXXIX. *CLEANDER to ORSAMES.*

Conversation with *CTESIPHON* the sophist on the origin of fable. 306

LXXX. *CLEANDER to ORSAMES.*

The same subject continued. - - - - - 312

LXXXI. *CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.*

Gives an account, how he has laid out his money in pieces of painting and sculpture. - - - - - 317

Fifth year of the Peloponnesian War.

LXXXII. *CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.*

Tumult in the city. Taking of Mitylene by the Athenians. Advices relating to the Peloponnesian fleet. His sentiments on the negotiations of Sparta with the court of Persia. Death and character of *PHORMIO*, the Athenian admiral. - - - - - 323

LXXXIII. *CLEANDER to HYDASPES.*

Representation of the Achæarnenses of *ARISTOPHANES*. Theatre described. Conversation with *PHILEMON* on the licentiousness of the stage. - - - - - 328

LXXXIV. *HIPPIAS to CLEANDER.*

Exposes the false steps of *XERXES's* expedition. - - - 335

LXXXV. *ORSAMES to CLEANDER.*

View of *Ægypt* after the inundation. Procession in honour of *ISIS*. Memphis described. Abstract of the *Ægyptian* history. - 342

CONTENTS.

lxi

LETTER

LXXXVI. CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Debate in the assembly at Athens on the punishment of the revolted Mitylenians. The first decree on that subject moderated by a second. - - - Page 352

LXXXVII. CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Origin of tragedy and comedy. Character of *ÆSCHYLUS*. 359

LXXXVIII. HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

Character of *NEHEMIAH* the Jew, and account of the Jewish nation. - - - 363

LXXXIX. CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.

Describes the pieces of painting and sculpture which he has bought for him. Sends over *TELEPHANES* the architect to take care of them. - - - 366

XC. CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

On the corruption introduced into the eloquence and management of the assemblies by party animosity. - - 374

XCI. CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

Sedition of *CORCYRA*. Severity of the Spartans to the conquered Platæans. Is acquitted of a prosecution brought against him for being a spy. - - - 378

XCII. ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

On the laws of *Ægypt*. - - - 383

XCIII. HIPPIAS to CLEANDER.

The advantages of the Persian government above those of the Grecian states. - - - 393

XCIV. CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

Characters of the Greek dramatic poets. - - 400

VOL. I.

h

EXPLANATION *of the* CAPITALS *at the End*
of each LETTER.

- P. Honorable Mr. YORKE, late Earl of Hardwicke.
- C. Honorable CHARLES YORKE.
- R. Rev. Dr. ROOKE, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge.
- G. Rev. Dr. GREEN, late Bishop of Lincoln.
- W. DANIEL WRAY, Esquire.
- H. Rev. Mr. HEATON, of Bennet College.
- E. Dr. HEBERDEN.
- O. HENRY COVENTRY, Esquire, Author of the Letters of Philemon
to Hydaspes.
- L. Rev. Mr. LAWRY, Prebendary of Rochester.
- T. Mrs. CATHERINE TALBOT.
- B. Rev. Dr. BIRCH.
- S. Rev. Dr. SALTER, late Master of the Charter-house.



30 31 32 33 34 35 36

45

G R E E C E

42

ATHENIAN LETTERS:
OR, THE
EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE

OF
AN AGENT OF THE KING OF PERSIA,
Residing at ATHENS during the PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

*A. M. 3573. 2d Year of the 87th Olympiad.
The first Year of the Peloponnesian War.*

LETTER I.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe to Artaxerxes King of Persia.*

I THINK it my duty to give you an account of my safe arrival at Athens, by the first ship that sails for Ephesus. My brother the merchant will take care to convey my letters safely to ANTAPHERNES, the governor of Sardis, who, I suppose, has received orders to send them immediately by expresses to court. As I am hardly settled in this place, and have just gone through the formalities, which are requisite for all strangers to comply with, who intend to settle at Athens, (as being admitted by the Areopagitic

VOL. I.

B

council,

cil, entered in a public register, and choosing a patron,) I can only pretend to give such accounts of the present state of affairs, as are founded on the common reports of the city. The Persian council must already have been informed, that all things have long carried the appearance of a war between Athens and Lacedæmon, upon pretence of injuries done by the former, to the allies of the latter. I shall lay before thee a short view of the rise of these differences, and the height to which they are now arrived. The Corcyreans being engaged in a quarrel with the Corinthians about Epidamnus, a colony of the former on the coast of Illyrium, unable alone to make head against them, sent a deputation to desire an alliance with Athens. Their request was strongly opposed by the ambassadors of Corinth; and the people in the first assembly determined against the Corcyreans, but changed their opinion in the second by the advice of PERICLES, and voted that a league should be concluded with them. In pursuance of it they sent to their assistance ten gallies, with orders that they should only protect the possessions of Corcyra, without attacking the Corinthians. These gallies were soon after engaged in a naval fight, where each party laid claim to the advantage; and at the same time Potidæa, a tributary city of the Athenians in Thrace, revolted against them, under pretence that they had imposed hard conditions upon them. Corinth, its mother-city, sent troops to its relief against the Athenian army, which laid siege to it; and at the same time dispatched a solemn embassy to Lacedæmon in conjunction with their allies, complaining that the Athenians had broken the treaties, by assisting the Corcyreans and interdicting all commerce with the Megareans. The Lacedæmonians, hurried on by the violent advices of STHENELAIDAS, the Ephorus, resolved, after a long debate, notwithstanding the remonstrances of their king ARCHIDAMUS, that the Athenians had violated the leagues. In consequence of this vote, they demanded of them to raise the siege of Potidæa, and repeal the decree against Megara. The Athenians

Athenians declared their readiness to make many of the concessions required, provided similar ones were made on the side of Sparta; or to submit every point in dispute to any impartial tribunal; concluding with a resolution, (even if these pacific overtures were rejected,) not to commence hostilities, but to defend themselves vigorously if they were attacked. I think this summary necessary, noble scribe, not to inform you, who have already received information of these events, but to give the better connection to the sequel of my dispatches. It is now generally agreed, that an open rupture will shortly ensue; for advice arrived here last night from Plataea, a town of Boeotia, and an ally of this state, that the Thebans, who with the rest of Peloponnesus side with Lacedaemon, had by treason gained admission into the place, and kept possession some little time; but the citizens taking advantage of the night, fell upon and cut off the whole party, except 200, who were taken prisoners. The people this very day in an extraordinary assembly decreed, that a supply of troops and provisions should forthwith be sent thither; and that messengers should be dispatched to all their allies, with the news of what has passed, and with orders to hasten their warlike preparations. A report is current, that the Spartans and their allies are assembling their forces at the Isthmus of Corinth. I find the opinions of the people various about the true springs of this war. The party in opposition to PERICLES scruple not to say, that no other reason can be given for it but his personal interest, which engages him to set Greece in a flame, that the Athenians may be less at leisure to examine his conduct, particularly with regard to the public accounts, and be obliged through the necessity of affairs to commit themselves to his management. Libels and satires are dispersed against him with great boldness, and at theatrical representations he is reproached to his face in the vilest accusations and most scurrilous language. All these injuries he bears with admirable temper. Indeed such is the natural inconstancy and impatience of the Athenians, that in case of any signal ill-success, or inconvenience from

the present measures, he will run the utmost hazard of losing the power and influence he now enjoys. It is besides alleged with good reason, that these divisions in Greece will give great advantage to Persia, which will never fail to encourage them by playing off one side against the other, till both are reduced so low, that our mighty monarch may take ample revenge for the battle of Salamis, and the inglorious peace with CIMON. The friends of PERICLES are not less industrious in justifying him; but I own, were I a Grecian, I should exceedingly lament these unhappy quarrels, of which no one can possibly see the consequences; or rather, if they continue, the event cannot but be detrimental to the common interest of Greece.

Thou art happy, illustrious minister, in depending, not upon the uncertain pleasure of a mutinous and inconstant people, but the will of a wise and beneficent prince, who measures the counsels of his servants, not by their success, but their intrinsic goodness; and whose prudent conduct, inspired by the great OROMASDES, is able to allay the rude clamours of faction, and suffers nothing to be heard through the wide empire of Persia, but the still small voice of peace and unanimity.

From Athens.

P.

LETTER II.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS *his Brother, a Merchant at Ephesus.*

I HAVE enclosed in your packet a letter to GOBRYAS, which you must transmit to the satrap ARTAPHERNES, and at the same time excuse my not writing to him upon account of the hurry I am in at present, which will not permit me to think of any thing, but the necessary business of my employment, till I am a little settled.

Our

Our voyage from Ephesus was very prosperous, and my curiosity increased the nearer I drew to a city, which is renowned through the world for the wisdom of its laws, the many eminent persons it hath produced, the magnificence of its buildings, and the stop it has so often put to the utmost efforts of the Persian empire; so that it may properly enough be styled the barrier of Greece. The entrance into the harbour of Piræus strikes one with astonishment; the vast number of ships, both for trade and war, which are continually lying there; the face of business which appears in the workmen at the dock; and the crowds of merchants, and of naval officers, passing every moment between the haven and the city, form a very grand and a very pleasing spectacle to a stranger. One can no longer wonder, that a state, where such a spirit of industry and freedom prevails, though under the disadvantage of a craggy, unfruitful, and narrow territory, should eclipse monarchies of fifty times its extent, where the labour of the people wastes itself in cultivating the arts of luxury; and the highest ambition amongst them is, who shall be the meanest slave to the sovereign. I have made choice of your old acquaintance and host, PHILEMON, to be my patron; he seems to be a true republican, and a man of great honour and probity. His advice will be of use to me, with regard to my behaviour here; and his knowledge and experience will greatly assist me in my inquiries into the constitution and affairs of Athens. As this ship carries you letters from your correspondents in this place, I shall add nothing of the news stirring here at present; and only recommend it to you, to take care of the speedy conveyance of my dispatches and remittances. In the midst of that hurry of mercantile business, which renders you the greatest merchant of the Persian empire, and a more useful subject to your king than the wealthiest and proudest satrap, bestow some moments in thinking of your brother; who, though placed in a hazardous and important situation,
remote

remote from his family and friends, will ever preserve the tenderest regards for your welfare and prosperity. Whilst I watch over the motions of Greece, and, like a sentinel, foretel the approach of every danger to my country, do you perform a far greater service to it, by exporting all those costly vanities, and that ostentatious magnificence, which have enervated the degenerate posterity of CYRUS. Adieu.

From Athens.

P.

LETTER III.

CLEANDER to ARTAPHERNES, *the Governor of Sardis.*

As my family and myself have been always honoured with your protection, and as you first recommended me to the Persian court for this employment; there is no one who has a better right to be informed of the steps I take, and the intelligence I receive. You may acquaint GOBRYAS in your next letters, that war is at last declared between the two famous republics, Athens and Lacedæmon. This state, by the instigation of PERICLES, refused to admit a herald, who was sent by ARCHIDAMUS, king of Sparta, to offer the last terms upon which peace would be concluded. We expect every day to hear, that the army of the allies, which consists of sixty thousand men, is in full march for the frontiers of Attica. A few days ago exact lists of the land and naval forces of Athens were laid before an assembly of the people. The troops of various kinds designed for the land service amount to 31,800 men; but their fleet, upon which they principally depend, may be easily completed to 300 galleys; with part of which they intend to guard their own coast, and to ravage those of their enemies; and with the rest to raise contributions from their allies for the service of the war.

The

The generality of people here were very eager in promoting such measures as had an immediate tendency to bring on a war; but they must soon begin to feel the inconveniences of one. PERICLES has declared, that they will never carry it on with any prospect of success, unless they rely entirely on their fleet; since their land army is not strong enough to keep the field against the united force of Peloponnesus. He has farther told them, that they must abandon and lay waste the country about Athens, in order to deprive the enemies of subsistence, during the time of their invasion. In consequence of his advice, the town is filling daily with vast numbers out of the country, who have destroyed their houses, transported their cattle and goods into the neighbouring islands, and are come to seek a lodging in the houses of their friends and relations. But the greatest part of the multitude must take up their quarters in the empty places of the city, and even in the temples. This removal, though complied with, is very inconvenient and disagreeable to many families; who, after having lived quietly in the country ever since the Persian invasion, and followed the innocent occupations of a rural life, are now obliged to leave their paternal seats and household gods, and to exchange repose and peace, for arms, hurry, and fatigue. However, this measure, though it appears hard, is very necessary; for as there is no town in Attica, except Athens, large enough to receive the inhabitants of the country, they would, if they continued there, be exposed to the dismal alternative of falling by the sword of the enemy, or of seeing their possessions ruined, and themselves made captives. PERICLES, like a wise statesman, despises the murmurs of his opponents; and well understanding where the true strength of his country lies, is hastening the equipment of a large squadron, which I hear is intended to lay waste Peloponnesus, and oblige the allies, either to keep their forces at home for the defence of their coasts, or retire out of the Athenian

Athenian territories upon the first news of their own being invaded. Solemn sacrifices have been offered at the shrines of all their gods, and particularly at that of MINERVA, the patroness of Athens, for protection against the attempts of their enemies. But you know, noble satrap, that the great OROMASDES vouchsafes not his assistance to those who make the most costly oblations, but to those who address him with the purest intentions. If this war has been undertaken in support of the honour and independence of Athens, what can be a more proper step than to appeal to the justice of providence? But if it owes its rise to motives of ambition, not of safety; of interest, not injuries; do not they deserve the severest punishments, who call down the vengeance of their gods on others, whilst themselves are really the offenders? Ought not those miseries, to which they devote their neighbours, to fall with double weight upon their own heads? Adieu.

P.

L E T T E R IV.

CLEANDER *to MEGABYZUS, one of the seven Counsellors of State to the King of Persia, and General of his Army.*

MY letters to the Persian ministers have given early and faithful accounts of the opening of the present war, and the steps which have been hitherto taken by each party. But I know your penetrating eye is not contented with surveying the outward appearances of things; your curiosity invites you, and your sagacity enables you, to search into the most refined secrets of policy, to examine the constitutions of different states, and, from the natural dispositions of the people and the tempers of their rulers, to divine their future conduct. The result of these inquiries is applied to the honour of your master, and the service of his people. I remember, when plenipotentiaries were sent

sent to conclude that inglorious peace with Athens, after the victories of CIMON, you foretold, that if we would let the Greeks alone, they would destroy themselves. The prophecy is at last fulfilled; the chief states of Greece, headed by Athens and Lacedæmon, have begun a war, which, according to all appearances, will be long, bloody, and active. Ambition and resentment equally inflame both parties: the Athenians contend for the preservation of the authority they possess; the Lacedæmonians for the recovery of that which they formerly enjoyed. The naval force of the one will for the present turn the scale of the war generally in their favour; the indefatigable industry of the other may, in a course of years, incline it to themselves. The luxury and licentiousness, which begin to corrupt the ancient simplicity of Athens, may in time damp the efforts of her ambition; the patience and discipline of Lacedæmon will make amends for what they want in vivacity and address. However fatal the effects of these civil discords may prove to Greece, Persia has reason to rejoice at them; it will be her part to add perpetual fuel to the flame already kindled, with supplies of men and money to the weakest. By pursuing such measures, the great king, from being contemned and ridiculed by every petty republic, will become courted and esteemed by the greatest. That respect, which in the times of THEMISTOCLES they would not have shewn to his sacred person, they will now pay more obsequiously to the meanest of his satraps; and the Persians, from being styled barbarians, will be esteemed by the party they assist as the deliverers of Greece.

PERICLES is the great conductor of the war; but whether he promotes it through a regard for the interests of his country, or of himself, is uncertain. I have already mentioned the accusations of his enemies, who attribute it wholly to motives of the latter sort. I can only add, that I am informed, that before my arrival, im-

peachments were brought against several of his friends, as PHIDIAS, ASPASIA, and ANAXAGORAS; nor had he any reason to boast of success in bringing them off. The statuary was unjustly condemned; the lady's acquittal he procured by tears and earnest supplications to her judges; and the philosopher he was obliged to send out of the town. The opposite party, to harass him farther, obtained a decree, that he should produce exact accounts of the public monies which had been laid out by his direction. These circumstances being put together, I think it not improbable, that he has fallen in with the dispositions for war, in order to dispel those clouds of enmity and malice, by finding his restless countrymen more important occupations. But he will never let them manage it as they please; and whilst he continues in power, peace or war will be determined, not by the votes of a headstrong multitude, but the calm resolves of his own prudence and deep penetration. Such is the influence which his great abilities, particularly his masterly talent of speaking, give him, over a people the most difficult of all others to be controlled or contradicted. Another part of his conduct, which contributes not a little to establish his authority, is, that every body knows, though the whole revenues of Athens have passed many years through his hands, he has spent them all in rendering his native country the envy and admiration of strangers, by the magnificence of its buildings, without improving in the least his own paternal inheritance. Forgive, sage MEGABYZUS, the length of this dispatch, and attribute it to my desire of obeying your commands with exactness. May you always continue a support and safeguard to the throne of your prince; may you no more experience the adversities of fortune, and the fickleness of court favour; but long enjoy without envy those high offices and dignities, to which your past services and merits so justly entitle you. Adieu.

From Athens.

P.

LETTER V.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES, *first Chamberlain to the King of Persia.*

IT has proved the most disagreeable circumstance of my employment, that I have not yet been able to write to my friends ; who, I hope, do not imagine, that because I have resided a few months at Athens, I have quite forgotten the relation I bear to Persia ; or that because I am engaged in the offices of a political life, I therefore intend to disregard those of the social. To deal frankly with you, though you are a courtier, I thought it my duty to prefer business of a public nature, to amusements of a private one ; and to make my employment sit easy upon me by a little practice, before I turned my thoughts another way. And besides, I was not inclined to send imperfect accounts of a nation, whilst I was a stranger to it : such a proceeding would have been disingenuous and ridiculous. The first question you would probably have me resolve, is, what peculiar difference I find in the manners of Greece and Persia ; since custom has placed as many marks of distinction in the civil manners of every nation, as Providence has displayed in the natural bodies of each individual. I will tell you, then, a Persian would find nothing more surprising, than the unbounded freedom of action and conversation which reigns here. The counsels of the great king are impenetrable ; we discover nothing of them till they take effect ; whilst here every measure is known long before it is put in execution, and canvassed with as much liberty in common conversation, as in the assemblies of the people. We approach our mighty monarch with postures of adoration, and address him in language which is used to the Deity. At Athens the magistrates are distinguished more by being virulently abused, than by any mark of

authority. PERICLES himself is sure to be the object aimed at by every one, who writes either scandalous libels to be dispersed about the city, or performances designed for public representation. The actors themselves sometimes appear upon the stage in masks, which are made exactly to resemble the face of the person ridiculed. The Persian magnificence appears most at their entertainments; the Athenian, at their solemn festivals. The Asiatic feasts are remarkable for the vast quantities of provisions, the costliness of the preparations, and the sumptuous furniture; the chief recommendation of a Greek one is, the elegance and variety of the conversation, which induced an Athenian to make this observation; "Our entertainments not only please, when we give them, but the day after." The Asiatic taste and grandeur appear in the palaces of their princes and satraps; the Grecian in the temples of their gods, and the public buildings. Not a nobleman in Persia but shews his rank by the richness of his dress, and the number of his attendants; whereas here you cannot distinguish a citizen from a slave by his habit; and the wealthiest Athenian, the most considerable person in the city, is not ashamed to go to market himself. In Persia the eyes of all are turned toward the sovereign, and they regulate their conduct by his: in the free republics of Greece the people are king, and resemble other monarchs in their bad qualities more than in their good ones; for they are fickle and imperious, severe and obstinate. I have in this letter just sketched the great outlines which mark the difference of manners between Greece and Asia: I may perhaps give the picture a few more touches, if it appears that what I have already performed has afforded entertainment. I desire you would not fail to send me the chit-chat of the court, and the news stirring in the centre of the empire. Consider, to a man employed abroad, the most trifling occurrences, which turn his thoughts to his country and friends, are interesting. I wish you length of days
in

in the post you at present possess, since you have gained the ear of your sovereign without flattery, and can amuse him, without listening for materials to the idle stories of slanderers and tale-bearers. Farewell.

From Athens.

P.

LETTER VI.

GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe to ARTAXERXES King of Persia,*
to CLEANDER at Athens.

THY diligence in sending speedy advices, and thy judgment in choosing such as are material and interesting, have met with deserved approbation at the Persian court. Thy letters are ordered by the council to be deposited in the archives of the empire; and the great sovereign of the East himself has deigned to cast a gracious eye on the labours of his servant, to express the satisfaction they have given him, and to assure you of his royal favour; an honour, CLEANDER, which I know will inspire thee with industry, to undergo the difficulties of thy employment; with resolution, to confront the dangers of it; and with zeal to serve a prince, whose benign influence (like that of the radiant Mithras) extends to every part of his empire, and makes itself felt by the meanest slave who approaches it. The contents of thy dispatches afford pleasure to every Persian. ARIMANIUS dooms the sons of Greece to irresistible perdition; he inflames their minds with civil discord; and turns the weapons, which were sharpened against us, into their own bosoms. O may this accursed being, the origin of ill, satiated with the misfortunes that have befallen the kingdom of CYRUS, exert for the future his baneful power amongst our enemies; and not only arm Greece against itself, but instil the venom of sedition
and

and discontent into each particular state ! I see by your letters, that a considerable party in Athens are engaged in a warm opposition to the measures of PERICLES ; and no doubt the course of a long and expensive war will afford them many opportunities to ruin his credit with the people. You cannot perform a more important service, than by encouraging any project to distress him ; for I wish no worse to Athens, than that he may experience the fortune of THEMISTOCLES, and find like him that esteem and kindness amongst strangers which his ungrateful countrymen refuse him. However, all the instructions of this nature must be left to your own discretion, as you are upon the spot, and have better lights to conduct yourself by, than any you can receive from hence. Fail not to intermix your historical dispatches with accounts of the constitutions of the different governments of Greece, the dispositions and customs of the people, and the characters of the ruling men. I foresee, that the part we shall be obliged to take in their affairs will make such informations absolutely necessary ; and bring us into a more familiar acquaintance with the nations amongst whom you reside. I dare say, thou always bearest in mind the importance of the trust reposed in thee ; and the submission and readiness with which it is thy duty to receive and execute the orders of the monarch of Asia, whose power of rewarding his faithful servants is equalled by nothing, but the bounty which he displays in doing it.

From the court at Ecbatana.

P.

LETTER VII.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

THY curious and discerning eye, which dwells not upon superficial matters or common occurrences, but pries into the more hidden springs of political measures and secret reasons of state, enables thee to be eminently serviceable to the ministers of our mighty empire; and thou failest not to entertain thy friends with novelties relating to the constitution of those republics, which are established upon a plan of government so different from ours. But the more eagerly thy epistles are here received on these accounts, the greater difficulty dost thou impose upon thy friends to find any thing worth sending thee in return. As to what relates more particularly to thy instructions, it belongs only to the secretaries and great counsellors of our awful monarch to correspond with thee; and any thing farther of the politics or intrigues of this court thou canst not expect from them who are but rarely admitted into the cabinet. But since, as you observe, the most trivial concerns are in some sort interesting to one in your circumstances, from a place which he esteems his home, I will write, if it be but upon trifles, that have nothing further to recommend them, than that they travel so far, and that they are sent from the court of Ecbatana. The plague, which had caused so great a mortality in Persia, and had long cast a damp upon all the gaieties of our court, is nearly over in these parts. And though such public calamities, while they last, or are just fresh upon the minds of men, tend naturally to occasion seriousness, and to give the most careless a short interval of sober thinking, yet we too commonly find, that they are no sooner removed, than the impression of them begins to wear off; and those who had of late but narrowly

narrowly escaped the danger, return only with a keener appetite to their former pleasures. And thus I may say it happens at this time; never was the court of Persia more splendid; never did extravagancies in dress and gallantry run higher. The fashions indeed, which so universally prevail among us, we know, were of Median original, and had their rise first in this place, before it became the metropolis of united kingdoms, and whilst the Medes and Persians were a separate people. But though compared with the Persian plainness in the reign of CYRUS, the Medes might then seem advanced to the first pitch of luxury; yet posterity have so well improved upon them, that old ASTYAGES himself, with his politest courtiers, would now make an awkward appearance at Ecbatana. We have here lately solemnized the nuptials of the great satrap of Bactria, ARASPES, with ARTAMINTA, daughter of the governor of Sardis, who is esteemed one of the first beauties of this court, and is a reigning favourite of the empress; and for the greater magnificence, the ceremony was performed in the royal gardens. And as if the natural beauties of the place in this delightful season had not been enough to have charmed every sense, a pompous colonnade, of a stupendous height, was erected in the middle of a spacious lawn. Through this the company were conducted to a stately pavilion, that ascended by several steps, covered over with a canopy of the richest embroidery of gold and silver, and a thicket of blossoming greens surrounded it*, when the embowering shades alone would formerly have been thought upon any occasion the most agreeable shelter from the noon-day heat. Upon a sofa of state, at the upper end, sat the supreme monarch of the East; and on another his consort by him:

* Εἰς γὰρ μὲν τῷ θίρει ἔκ ἀρπύων αὐτοῦ; σὺ δ' αἱ τῶν διδύμων, ὅδ' αἱ τῶν σκυῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῦταις ἑτήρας σκεῖς ἀσπαστοὺς μαχαλόμενοι αὐτοῦ; παρῆσαν.

Xenoph. de Inst. Cyr. lib. viii. ed. Franc. p. 241. C.

a little

a little lower the nuptial rites were celebrated, and the happy ARASPES joined his hands with the beauteous ARTAMINTA. The other most distinguished satraps stood about the throne, and the rest of the gaudy retinue attended at an humbler distance below. The company afterwards adjourned into another part of the gardens, where with equal splendor the nuptial feast was prepared. I shall not attempt to describe the luxurious dainties that were served up, neither shall I attempt to set forth the sumptuous finery of those who adorned the nuptials; nor canst thou take any pleasure in hearing, that the youth of Persia, upon whom depend our hopes of maintaining the monarchy of the world, should be* more exact in perfuming their hair, curling it in ringlets, and enlivening their complexion with artificial washes, than the softest even of the female sex. Amongst those who made the most gallant appearance, was the young ORSAMES, the son of ARTÆUS, president of the tribunal of justice, and a relation of ARTAMINTA. His dress indeed was extremely rich, and suitable to the occasion; but the unaffected graces of his person, which owe nothing to the disguise of art, made him appear with a manly ease in every motion, that, as it turns our esteem upon him, makes the effeminate airs of the rest appear more ridiculous. He seems by nature and inclination to be formed to virtue, and has acquired all those noble accomplishments, for which the Persian education was so famed of old: and with a laudable thirst after knowledge and improvement, he desires to acquaint himself with the arts, learning, and policy of other countries. He is therefore setting out upon the tour of Egypt and Greece; and waited only for these nuptials to be over before he went. To satisfy your curiosity and his own, he desires by me to be recommended to you, having a design to correspond with you from dis-

* Xenoph. de Inst. Cyri. lib. viii. Herod. lib. ix.

tant parts, and will take pleasure to be instructed by your letters in the manners and customs of Greece before he arrives there. But I must not omit to inform you how the grand solemnity ended : after the banquet was over, when the cool and pleasant time of the evening came on, the artificial music, which had for a while given place to the sweeter harmony of ten thousand nightingales, that warble through those groves, and whose notes upon this occasion seemed inspired with a more ravishing melody, struck up at once from all the various instruments of sound in full concert. The company was then dispersed through different walks, that all centered upon the pavillion, where the great monarch, his queen, with the other chief satraps, sat to enjoy the sweets of the evening. When the twilight had now given place to the darker shades of night, in an instant the gloom was dispersed, and it seemed as if a whole firmament of stars had shot up among the trees to renew at once their intermingled lights, and rival the blaze of day. The birds were awakened by the deceit, and began again their enchanting strains more sweetly than when the early beams of MITHRAS are first displayed from behind the curtains of the east. The nuptial hymn, composed by the Mage THIAMAS, was sung by six comely youths, and as many blooming virgins clad in white, and the happy pair were conducted to the genial bed.

From Ecbatana.

L.

LETTER VIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, Chief Scribe to ARTAXERXES King of Persia.

I RECEIVED thy dispatch with due reverence; I kissed the royal signet, and bowed my head in token of submission to the commands of the sovereign of the East, transmitted by his faithful minister. Thy commendations, illustrious scribe, are of more value in my sight, than all the treasures of Asia; and I look upon the gracious acceptance which the mighty ARTAXERXES vouchsafes my services, as a nobler reward than if he bestowed on me the most potent satrapcy in the whole Persian empire. Since my last letters, the war has been carried on with greater preparation than effect; and the blood yet spilt has rather served to exasperate both parties, than to cool the resentments of either.

The army of the allies, commanded by ARCHIDAMUS king of Sparta, advanced to the frontiers of Attica, and laid siege to Oenoe; but being repulsed in their attacks, they raised the siege, and advanced further into the country, till they came into an open town called Acharnæ, not sixty furlongs from Athens, where they encamped. The Athenians, irritated at the boldness of the enemy, and sensibly afflicted to see their possessions ruined and wasted in their sight, earnestly desired to sally out of their walls, and come to an engagement; but PERICLES, withstanding both their pressing desires, and the severe railleries of his enemies, who reproached him with cowardice and stupidity, persevered in declining so hazardous a measure; and, like a skilful pilate in a storm, relied on his own superior knowledge and experience, without regarding the cries or menaces of the

ignorant passengers. Indeed it is surprising, that a single man should not only have authority enough to oppose the unanimous opinion of a headstrong and mutinous people, in whose hands the supreme government is lodged ; but even to hinder any assembly from being called, lest in the present heat some rash resolution might be taken. However, to keep up their spirits, and divert the strength of the enemy, he sent out a squadron of an hundred gallies with troops on board, who made descents, and ravaged the sea-coasts of Peloponnesus and Laconia ; which obliged the allies, after having consumed their provisions, to decamp and return home. The Athenians, as soon as they were retired, set apart a thousand talents, and an hundred gallies for their defence against an invasion by sea ; and made it capital for any one who should move to have them applied to any other use. Thou wilt have a complete survey of the theatre of the war, when I tell thee that it extends as far as Thrace, where the Athenians are now besieging Potidæa, which, at the instigations of the Corinthians (their founders) and the Lacedæmonians, revolted from them, along with Chalcis and Bottiæa, and were assisted by PERDICCAS king of Macedon. I just now learned, that he is reconciled to this state by the mediation of SITALCES, a Thracian prince ; and has engaged to join with PHORMIO, the Athenian general, against the Chalcideans.

As no action of importance has yet happened, I will not tire thy patience with tedious relations of every skirmish and trifling event. It will be more useful to let thee into the reasons of PERICLES's conduct, which may appear to deserve the name of timidity rather than of prudence ; but he wisely considered the extreme hazard of facing an enemy in the field, whose troops were superior both in number and goodness to the Athenian ; that a defeat would absolutely ruin their affairs, and that a victory would not balance, in its advantages,

advantages, the peril that attended it; since Peloponnesus could easily have recruited the conquered army; whilst the lives of his citizens would be thrown away, and their attention drawn off from their naval strength to the land service, though their safety depends entirely on cultivating the former.

The head of the party in opposition to him is CLEON, the son of a currier, a person of an assuming and violent temper; rather formed to disturb than serve his country; and with talents to make him a popular demagogue, but not a statesman. PERICLES has no great reason to apprehend the weak attempts of a CLEON, when his power and influence over the Athenians has been sufficient to banish CIMON and THUCYDIDES, men of real abilities and integrity: the name of the former can never be forgotten in Persia as long as it continues an empire. I am grieved to hear, that Asia, when it has scarcely recovered the miserable effects of war, is depopulated by a devouring pestilence, whose ravages are equally fatal, but more extensive, and whose contagion is alike dangerous to the cottage of the labourer and the palace of the prince. O may these punishments of the gods, which never come undeserved, help us to throw off our luxurious and dissolute manners, and to resume the masculine virtues and simplicity of the old Persians; since so extensive an inheritance, as the empire they transmitted to us, can never be preserved but by the same arts that raised it! Excuse my freedom, worthy minister, and remember it is the strongest proof I can give thee of my fidelity Adieu.

From Athens.

P.

LETTER IX.

Hippias the Merchant to Cleander at Athens.

IF any thing, my dearest brother, could add to the pleasure of hearing that you were safely arrived at Athens, it was, that you seem so sensible of the advantages accruing to a nation from an extended commerce : and indeed the striking impression which the bare view of a crowded port affords, is ocular demonstration, and an argument of the most convincing kind. I wish either your speculative or my experimental knowledge may persuade the Persian ministry, that nothing tends so much as trade to the circulation of industry, wealth, and happiness through a people; that it becomes a common tie to connect the distant parts of the most extended empire; and that, like veins in the natural body, it conveys life, warmth, and health, over the political. I found myself much inclined to fall into a train of reflections of this nature in a journey, partly of business, and partly of pleasure, which I took lately to Ecbatana; and I will communicate to you the result of them. Three circumstances, I am persuaded, contribute to render the fine situation of Persia for commerce almost useless : one is, that in all their great naval preparations against the Greeks, they have constantly furnished themselves with ships and seamen from Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Cilicia, instead of encouraging their natural subjects to imitate the trading nations who are tributary to them, on whom the marine of the empire at present entirely depends. Another obstacle to trade arises from the late treaty with Athens, by one article of which it is agreed, “ That no Persian vessel “ shall enter the seas, which extend from the Pontus Euxinus to the “ coasts of Pamphilia ; and that no Persian troops shall come within
“ three

"three days march of those seas." A third circumstance, which is the most surprising of all, is, that they have contrived cataracts on the Tygris and Euphrates, to break the regular course of the stream, and to make the navigation of those rivers difficult. I mention this instance from my own observation, as it shews not only their utter inattention to improve their natural advantages, but, what is much worse, a stupid obstinacy to oppose the means with which bountiful nature has supplied them to facilitate the carriage of their manufactures and inland commerce. They pretend that these cataracts prevent the enterprises of enemies, who might endeavour to invade them by coming up these great rivers: but I think this apprehension as vain as the precaution is absurd; for a naval force joined to the numerous land army which they keep up, would easily defeat any such attempts. Since my abode at Ecbatana, I have frequently represented to the ministers the advantages which must arise to the empire from destroying them, and I hope not quite ineffectually. I assure you, I am much pleased to take this opportunity of falling into my old train of thought; for I have lately led the life of a courtier rather than a merchant, to which the pleasures of the place have not a little invited me. The recommendations with which the governor of Sardis honoured me, and the friends you have here, contribute more to my good reception, than any merit of my own. I dare say your curiosity will expect some account of the city where I am; I shall therefore endeavour to gratify it.

You need not to be informed that Ecbatana is the metropolis of Media, and was anciently the seat of the Median, as it is now of the Persian, monarchs. It is situated on a rising ground, not far from Mount Orontes, in a country called, for its peculiar pleasantness, "the garden of Persia."

The

The city is contained within an enclosure of seven walls, gradually rising one above another. The palace and the treasury are built within the innermost circle of the seven, which is distinguished from the rest by the embellishment of a gold colouring. Ecbatana has the advantage of being surrounded by spacious plains, particularly those of Nysa, where the royal studs of fifty thousand horses are kept. These plains are bounded on one side by Mount Orontes, on the other by a large forest, amidst whose lofty trees arise the country-seats of the Persian nobility. I should tire thee with describing the solemnity of an audience of the great king; the magnificence with which he entertains the princes of the blood and the great satraps, and the pomp of his attendance, when he appears abroad: besides, I forget that you are no stranger to the splendor of the Asian court. As soon as it removes to Susa, its winter residence, I shall return to my old scene of life at Ephesus; uncorrupted, I hope, by the pleasures of the place, and I am sure not infected with the least tincture of a courtier's insincerity, when I assure you of my warmest affections. Adieu.

From Ecbatana.

P.

LETTER X.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

HYDASPES the chamberlain having informed thee of my intentions to correspond with thee during my travels, thou wilt not therefore be surprised at receiving a letter from this place. And truly, though I am a stranger to thy person, yet the reputation thou bearest here, not only for an approved capacity in business of the
greatest

greatest weight and importance, but for a genius of the most refined cast and extensive compass, may well save me the trouble of any apology for thus beginning an epistolary intercourse. I have that esteem for every man of distinguished parts and an improved understanding, that I would find some way of recommending myself to such a person, though he were in the most distant corners of the earth*. The city I am now at, which rose upon the ruins of the ancient Nineveh, and was designed as much to eclipse that famed seat of the old Assyrian empire, as the glory and power of its founder did that of Ninus, would have engaged me to have come hither by choice, had it not lain so direct in the tour of my travels, especially at a time when the court being absent, I can more leisurely take a survey of its admirable curiosities. But Babylon need not be particularly described to thee, who hast been personally thyself in most of the noble metropolis's of this empire, among which the monarch of the world is pleased to divide his time. Never sure was any city built upon a more regular and magnificent plan; never was any better contrived for the healthfulness of its numerous inhabitants; so spacious are the streets, so large the outlets for gardens and walks of pleasure in the midst of every square of building; besides which, the houses stand so far asunder, that one cannot in this city complain of living more closely, or of breathing a less pure air, than if one were placed in the midst of the country, so truly does Babylon reconcile the two contrarieties of a town and a rural situation: and those vast plains, which were left unbuilt by the Assyrian king, are, to speak literally, a wide country, with champaign, corn fields, and pasture, all enclosed within walls and fortresses. By the civility of ARTABAZUS the governor, I was shewn the vast extent of this city in the most convenient manner upon the walls; and for the greater ease, we made

* Herod. lib. i. c. 106. Ibid. c. 178.

a journey of two days in going round it. Could human strength have resisted the decrees of destiny, or of that over-ruling power, which governs the world, and had ordained for CYRUS the establishment of a glorious empire, it might have been thought, that this place of all others was impregnable, defended with gates of brass, and encompassed with these stupendous walls. But that which the Assyrian thought would complete the glory of his mighty works, exposed the city to be taken; and those impassable morasses, which have overflowed the plains of Babylon, and spread over an unmeasurable tract of land, since the mounds of Pallacopas were blown up, upon CYRUS's turning the river into it, are a lasting monument of vain expence, designed to perpetuate his memory. It is reported that after NABUCHODONOSOR had finished these magnificent works*, he foresaw, to mortify his pride, and foretold by a prophetic spirit, that Babylon would be taken. The famous prophecy he uttered upon the occasion was written by the priests of Belus, and found long since in the archives of their temple†. That famous structure was much damaged by XERXES, and stript of the rich statues of the Assyrian gods, and the sacred utensils; but the walls and towers are left standing, though not yet repaired as was intended. My curiosity led me up one fine afternoon to the top of it; and it was with infinite surprize and pleasure I surveyed, in the ascent, the scene that presented itself below. As far as the eye could reach, appeared the most regular diversity of pomp and magnificence. Here a vast expanse of palaces and stately buildings seemed to cover the whole plain beneath, and to terminate the wide horizon, except where the

* Abydenus ap. Euseb. Præp. l. 9. c. 41.

† Arrian. lib. vii. dicit hoc templum a Xerxe subversum fuisse, sed Herodotus Xerxi diu superstes, cum in templi hujus mentionem incidit, habet hæc verba, ὁ δὲ Βάβυλόνος ὑψηλίστην, καὶ οἰκιστὴν τῆρα τὴν ἡμετέραν. Clio. c. 181.

distant

distant waters of the great morass were just discernible by the reflection of the rays of the declining sun. Below me lay the remains of the ancient palace, which takes up four miles in circumference; and facing it, on the western banks of the river, that superb new one, which exceeds all description, and stands upon twice the compass of ground with the former. There rose the gardens of AMYTIS, which seem to hang pendulous in air; nor does the strength of those arches (such is the exquisite contrivance of the work) appear as any support to the terraces and forests of the largest trees that are mounted above them. By the time we had reached the utmost summit, the cheerful glow of the setting sun began to grow fainter in the western clouds; but as the glorious prospect vanished underneath, from the distance and the dusk of the evening, another more beautiful broke out above in those myriads of twinkling lights, which diversify the heavens, in the absence of the radiant MITHRAS. We were then got up to the observatory, and found the sages in astronomy beginning their curious contemplations. They very courteously marked out to me a scheme of the heavens in the heavens themselves. 'Tis theirs to number the stars, and know them distinctly by their names; to observe when they rise and set, and to reduce their greatest wanderings to fixed and certain rules. Thus raised as it were betwixt earth and heaven, above the noise and tumult of human affairs, I fancied myself in the neighbourhood of the celestial bodies, conversing with them, as they moved through the serene æther in their silent courses. How noble and stupendous beyond all the masterpieces of art did nature then appear! how immense and astonishing! how boundless and infinite! The thoughts that then swelled in my breast are too big for utterance; I was dumb with rapture and amazement; I fell on my face and adored the everlasting OROMASDES. When compared with these his works, how mean are

the most splendid glories of the Persian empire ! how little and contemptible ! they flatten—they diminish—they shrink into nothing !

From Babylon.

I..

LETTER XI.

CLEANDER to OTANES, *Superintendent of the Royal Palaces, &c.*

As soon as I am at leisure to turn my thoughts to any other concerns than those of the great king, thine (as this may serve to convince thee) are the uppermost in my mind. I have, as thou gavest me in charge, applied myself of late to the surveying of this renowned city, which is divided into two parts, the upper and lower. The upper, which is the more ancient, and was formerly the whole of it, is, in its present grandeur, almost entirely occupied by the public buildings, such as the citadel, the temples of the gods, and the courts of judicature: the lower, which is guarded by a fort called Munychia, is laid out in an infinite number of streets, and communicates with the two havens, the Piræus and Phalereus, by two walls of most amazing strength, and more than forty stadiums long; these and the citadel were built partly by CIMON, and partly by THEMISTOCLES. Some here scruple not to say, that the circumference of the whole is more than a day's journey, and even those who are most moderate affirm it to be above five parasangs; and doubtless, if one were to form a judgment of the strength and power of the Athenians from the state and magnificence of this metropolis, it would surpass all that has been reported of them. For to a Persian it would seem incredible, that the capital of a people, whose dominions exceed not in extent those of many an inferior satrap in the shining

shining court, should equal in dimensions and grandeur the most sumptuous of those where the lord of Asia deigns to reside. For the ornamental parts, it is chiefly indebted to the care and genius of PERICLES; who, with a soul grasping at and capable of executing all things, thought it not enough to aggrandize the state, except he should at the same time adorn it equally; not content to make it the most powerful, he resolved also to make it the most beautiful city in Greece. By the encouragement and large rewards which he offered, he drew together the most celebrated artists in each kind from all parts of the world: their numbers soon inspired them with an emulation of excelling each other; and where all were excellent, it was to lose reputation to produce any thing that was not perfect in its kind. Hence it is, potent lord, that it exceeds all power of words to express, or imagination to conceive, the beauties that are displayed in some of their principal buildings. Those dedicated to the gods especially might seem not unworthy of immortal natures; there is a grandeur, as well as a simplicity, which ravishes one at the first sight; they are all of them finished upon the most exquisite models; not blazing indeed with gold or precious stones, but polished with a care and delicacy, that would give value to the meanest materials, and that surpasses the brightest glow and the most diversified irradiations of colour. That temple in particular, which is called the P^AR^THENON, and dedicated to MINERVA, the guardian and protectress of ATHENS, as it is the largest, so it is the most complete; its length is an hundred and fifty cubits, and the breadth about sixty-five: the outside adorned with a beautiful colonnade, which serves to support the bold projections of a most curious entablature. On entering and surveying the inside, I found myself delighted and surprised without knowing the particular cause; till, on further consideration, I perceived that this was owing to the exact symmetry and happy adjustments of each part. I was convinced, that the proportions

proportions observed in this were the truest and most natural that can be; and will, if I foresee aright, be a pattern for imitation to all succeeding times. There is, there must be, something fixed and rational in this, as well as all other objects that delight the mind. Why else do the stupendous works of Babylon, and the so celebrated temple of DIANA, which my native Ephesus boasts, though they amaze and awe, yet fail of pleasing us? And whence is it that, though none but the most consummate artist is capable of designing what is truly great and majestic, yet all admire and approve what is so, when finished? Happy PERICLES, whose name shall live, not in these august buildings only, but in all which deserve the admiration of mankind to the latest posterity! It was from a sense of this, that he silenced the clamours of his enemies, and put a stop to the complaints of his fellow-citizens, in relation to the great charge of these edifices. He offered to pay the expence of all that was done, on condition that he might have the reputation of designing and raising so many illustrious monuments. Besides this, the most remarkable temples are those dedicated to NEPTUNE, to CASTOR and POLLUX, and THESEUS; nor can it fail to give every Persian the same pleasure it did me, when he shall know, that another of their most stately buildings, the Odeum, or music theatre, is built after the model of that pavilion which shades the sacred head of the most powerful monarch in the universe. It would be endless to recount the other buildings, which rise on all sides around me; nor will I attempt at present to describe the fine paintings, or enumerate the beautiful statues, which people, as it were, every corner of the city. These are all done under the direction, and most of them by the hand of PHIDIAS, an artist so extraordinary, as to be worthy the encouragement of our great monarch, and who, when supported by his munificence, might exceed all that the world has ever seen in that way; and yet this so excellent a master has lately, out of spite
to

to PERICLES his patron, been cast into prison, and is suffered to languish there in daily expectation of death. Such is the reward of all his labours from an ungrateful city! Thou art happy, OTANES, in serving a master who will not value thee less because thou deservest to be valued more. Let it be thy ambition to render those splendid apartments, committed to thy care, worthy of their royal guest; and if the Athenians scruple not to imitate the Asiatic barbarians (as they insolently call us) in one of their buildings, nor do thou disdain to transcribe other excellencies from them. Blush not to copy after masters, whose natural bent and genius lie towards these arts; who, despising all useless ostentation, and laughing at the cumbrous unformed buildings of the East, have first shewed the world, "that convenience is not incompatible with state, nor true "magnificence destitute of real use." Adieu!

From Athens.

R.

LETTER XII.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS, *one of the seven Counsellors of state to the King of Persia*

IT was no inconsiderable part of the wise instructions which thou gavest me, before my voyage to this city, that I should write you a particular account of every remarkable custom, as well as extraordinary incident that occurred during my abode here. I know how much thou grievest in secret for the degeneracy of Persia; and thy design in requiring this intelligence, with a view to the improvement of our own country, by remarks on the manners of others, is agreeable to the wisdom of thy ministry, and the greatness of thy soul. A design truly glorious, and praise-worthy! in comparison whereof,

whereof, the history of the vast armies and ravages of XERXES may be considered as the chaff before the wind, and which will perpetuate the name of MEGABYZUS to the latest posterity.

The Athenians have a law amongst them, which enjoins that all those who die fighting in the cause of their country, shall at the end of every campaign be buried at the public charge, and their children maintained by the state till they arrive at the age of manhood. The first year of the war is now over, and the winter season is advanced upon us. Accordingly, the ceremonies thus instituted were performed a few days since; and I had the pleasure of seeing every part of them. To tell thee my opinion freely, I never was so much delighted with the pomp and splendor of the court of Susa, as with the honest plainness of these republican solemnities. The whole was conducted after this manner.

About three days before the funeral, the bones of the slain were placed in a tent raised on purpose, so that every person might have an opportunity to frequent them, and pay them the last tribute of a tear. All sorts of odoriferous herbs and flowers were strewed around the tent; and each man brought some in his hand, that he might consecrate them to the manes of his favourite friend. On the fourth day a coffin of cypress was sent from every tribe, to carry off the bones of their own members. After which went an empty covered hearse, in memory of those who could not be found. The procession was carried on with a peculiar decency of sorrow, while great numbers of inhabitants, both strangers and citizens, assisted in the train of mourners. The parents of the deceased attended at the sepulchre to weep. No eye could refrain from tears; and the melancholy distress which appeared in the faces of all alike, seemed but a true copy of the sentiments of all. The bones were accompanied in this manner.

ner to the public place of burial, (which is situated in a pleasant spot without the city, called CERAMICUS,) and committed to the ground. The monument erected to the valour of these citizens was adorned with pillars, trophies, and inscriptions, such as are usual about the tombs of the most honourable persons. The ceremony was concluded with one speech in praise of them all, and PERICLES was the orator to whom that task was assigned. It is impossible for any man, who has not heard him, to conceive the strength and solidity of his thoughts, the grace and dignity of his action, the elegance and simplicity of his diction. For my own part, I was enchanted with the power of his eloquence. His countrymen say of him very justly, that he harangues in an imperial strain. Hence they have given him the surname of OLYMPUS, intimating, probably, that, like their god JUPITER, he thunders when he speaks. To this I may add, that the melody of his voice, the air of his countenance, the very manner of his dress, has something of an engaging and commanding gravity, which at once charms and astonishes his audience.

The main scope of his speech, was to animate the living with resolution, by commending the courage of the dead; to infuse a spirit of patriotism into the minds of his fellow-citizens, by celebrating that principle of action, which incites the valiant to battle. He told them, that such men, though they failed in their attempt, were not wanting in glory to themselves or their country; that they would for ever receive, instead of their lives, an immortal monument of praise (not so much that wherein their bodies are now laid, as a more illustrious one in the memory of future ages). For to men of fame, all the earth is a sepulchre, and respect shall be paid to their virtue, not only by inscriptions and trophies at home; but by unwritten records of the heart in all nations of the world, which, more than any kind of perishable monument, will remain to eternity. In

imitation, therefore, of these men, continued he, and placing happiness in liberty, and liberty in valour, be forward to encounter the dangers of war. He set before them the reputation of dying with their swords in their hands, for a commonwealth so renowned and so noble as that of Athens. In displaying the extent and greatness of its dominion, he took occasion to flatter the people, in ascribing it chiefly to the prudence of their conduct, the strictness of their discipline, and the bravery of their arms. He extolled the freedom and independency of their constitution; that they were all governed by the law, whose protection was equally extended to the poor and the rich, to the weak as well as powerful; that the merit and industry of every citizen made his way to preferment, without any personal distinction whatsoever; in short, that where the rewards of virtue are the greatest, there live the greatest men. He closed his speech with a particular address to the different ages and sexes of those who heard him, and dismissed the multitude.

As soon as PERICLES had descended from the rostra, the people followed him to his house with loud acclamations of joy; and the sense of every man's sorrow for the loss of his relations was changed into the highest encomiums on their happiness and fame. The merits of the deceased were drawn in the most lively colours by the partial imaginations of friends. Even those who had been their competitors in the posts of glory, and had envied their reputation while living, now honour them with affection when dead. Each man seems studious of serving the widows and orphans of those he loved; and the state of Athens, with the tenderness of a kind parent, is expressing those sentiments of gratitude to the offspring of her brave defenders, which she cannot express to themselves; a custom so just and laudable, so consistent with the wisest maxims of good policy, that it must be left to your judgment to determine, if the constitution

tution of Persia is not in some degree defective for the want of it. Pardon the vehemence of the expression ; but this I will venture to affirm, that nothing can tend, in a stronger manner, to animate the soft and degenerate troops of Asia to emulate the valour of their generous ancestors, than rewards and encouragements of the same nature, proposed to military virtue. Herein then let us imitate the republic of Athens, and be in no wise ashamed to learn useful improvements from the warmest of our foes. I would ask only one question ; can any man, who shall chance to fall a victim to his enemies in the heat of battle, and considers, in his last and departing moments, that his obsequies shall be honourably performed at the charge of his fellow-citizens, that his friends shall pay respect to his memory by their praise, that his children shall be educated by the care and prudence of the public ; can such a man hesitate one moment, whether he hath done rightly in forfeiting his life, however precious, to the fame of his own character, to the service of his own children, to the general and lasting benefit of his country ?

This is a custom, O thou sage MEGABYZUS, which, if ever it be practised among us, will establish the throne of our mighty master, not on the frail and unstable foundations of pomp and luxury, of force and power, of dissimulation and craft ; but on the popularity of the prince, and the industry and affection of his subjects ; foundations of the regal authority so great and so noble, that the king, who would add weight to his sceptre, must reign by them, or govern against the happiness of his people, against the very rule, the very end of his government. Adieu.

From Athens.

C.

LETTER XIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe to ARTAXERXES King of Persia.*

I FORGOT not, sage minister, the directions thou gavest me, to send accounts of the constitutions of the different governments in Greece; and now the season of action is over, I find more leisure to prosecute such useful enquiries. I intend in this letter to lay before thee a description of the constitution of Athens, reducing it to a compass consistent, I hope, with accuracy, as well as entertainment.

SOLOX, their great legislator, formed their government chiefly on a popular plan: though from several institutions of his it appears, that he designed to moderate the inconstancy and violence of a democracy, by introducing a proper mixture of the aristocratical form. The first appointed, that none but those who had a certain revenue should be candidates for the great magistracies of the state. The people, indeed, since the Persian invasion, have had influence enough to increase their power, by getting rid of this incumbrance upon the ambition of the poorer sort. The second was, the establishment of a senate, chosen annually out of each of the tribes. SOLOX, as a third restraint upon the people, a third anchor to prevent the republic's being carried away by the intrigues of factious rulers, or the irresolution of weak ones, enlarged the authority of the Areopagus, their great court of judicature. He likewise very much diminished the power of the nine Archons, who have each separate jurisdictions; as the first, for instance, gives a name to the year, determines in causes concerning wills and legacies, and inspects the theatrical diversions.

After

After this general sketch of the Athenian constitution, I shall proceed to enter more particularly into the grand resorts and springs, on which the movements of their political system depend. The senate of five hundred is composed of fifty out of every one of the ten tribes. No one can be admitted into it, without being at least thirty years of age, and undergoing a strict enquiry into his character. Before he takes his seat he binds himself by a solemn oath to adhere to the laws, and give advice to the people of Athens, according to the best of his abilities. Every tribe presides in the senate in its turn (which is regulated by lot) for thirty-five days. Each company of presidents are called Prytanes; and out of them the Proedroi, or set of presidents for the week, are appointed. The president of the day, called the Epistata, is one of the Proedroi, and has in his custody the great seal, and the keys of the citadel and treasure, and presides likewise in the assemblies of the people. When the senate has made a decree, if it is ratified by the people, it passes into a law; if otherwise, it continues in force only for a year. The matters which come under the cognizance of the senate are of the same sort as those which are brought before the people; and therefore may be referred to that head. At the expiration of the annual offices of the senators, if any ships of war have been built during their regency, the people decree them the honour of the crown; a remarkable instance of their great attention to increase their naval force; as being fully convinced that the safety and honour of the commonwealth depend upon it! The ordinary assemblies of the people are held four times in thirty-five days, particular affairs being allotted to each time, extraordinary ones are summoned by the magistrates; and a paper is fixed up in the public places of the city, with a short account of the business to be debated.

The

The place where the assembly is held, which is either the market-place, or a great square near the citadel, is first purified by a solemn rite of lustration. When that is ended, the public crier makes a prayer for the prosperity of their counsels; and pronounces an execration against those who endeavour, or advise any thing to the prejudice of the commonwealth. Then, by order of the president, he states the question; or repeats the decree of the senate, which is to be confirmed or rejected. The oldest orators begin the debate, and are followed by the younger; though it is to be observed, that no person under thirty has a right to be heard; nor is any one who has been convicted of a notorious crime permitted to have a share in their councils. Without the first of these precautions, they think the state might be exposed to danger by an immature advice; without the latter, by a desperate or unlawful one. When the debates are over the people give their votes, which is usually done by holding up their hands: then the opinion is drawn up in writing, and they confirm it by a second division. After the president has examined the numbers on both sides, he pronounces on which the majority lies, and dismisses the assembly. It is in these assemblies of the people that all affairs relating to war and peace, religion or domestic policy, are discussed. Appeals lie to them from all tribunals, even from that of the Areopagus; of which venerable judicature I shall next give thee a short account. Their institution is by some attributed to SOLON, but generally to CECROPS, the founder of the city. It is chiefly composed of the Archons who have discharged their offices with honour; and its number therefore is not always the same. They hold their sittings on Mars's-hill, in the open air; and when they determine causes it is in the night. The members of this body have been always held in the highest esteem for the sanctity of their lives; the impartiality of their decisions, and their knowledge in the laws of
of

of their country. Their authority is of a large extent; they inspect over the observation of the laws, the manners of the citizens, and the education of the youth. They have also cognizance of cases of murder, and all sorts of impieties; and the introduction of new ceremonies falls within their jurisdiction. PERICLES, indeed, with a view of making his court to the people, by throwing more power into their hands, and weakening that of the nobles, has reduced the power of the Areopagus: but sober men look upon it as one of the worst steps in his administration; and it affords his enemies a fair topic for invidious remarks. I hope the view I have here given thee, noble scribe, of the nature of the Athenian constitution, and of their manner of carrying on public business, will not be disagreeable to thee, or afford unprofitable reflections to the council of Persia; thy favourable acceptance of this essay will encourage me to transmit more papers of the same kind. I leave it to thy experienced sagacity to compare the republican government of Athens with the monarchical one of thy native country; to discover the excellencies of each; to trace out their respective imperfections; and to determine, whether a constitution, blended of both, might not compose the most perfect form that human invention can ever expect to attain. But I know how difficult it would prove to hit that just medium; and how hard it is to prevent the spirit of faction from mixing with that of reformation. Pardon my presumption, and suffer me to wish a long continuance to thy ministry; it is the same thing as wishing an increase of honour and prosperity to Persia. Adieu

From Athens.

P.

LETTER XIV.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

THOU continuest, CLEANDER, to give frequent proofs of thy zeal and abilities in the dispatches which thou writest to the ministers of the Persian court. Our royal master is happy in possessing so good a servant, particularly at a time when the wisdom of our counsels must assist us to regain what we have lost by the misfortunes of our arms. Thy last letters to MEGABYZUS and myself were particularly acceptable. They shew that, not contented with being a bare annalist of the public transactions, thou enterest into the very genius and dispositions of the people amongst whom thou residest ; and that as thou conversest with persons the most intelligent in the government and manners of Athens, so thou art no less careful to enrich thy country with the fruits of thy knowledge. I will only suggest this caution to thee, not to suffer the partial representations which the Greeks make of their own policy and religion, to inspire thee with a dislike to those of Persia ; nor let the many instances, which thou must observe, of a licentious liberty towards magistrates and rulers, pervert thy affections from the sovereign of the East ; neither imagine that customs which suit the level conditions of the members of a republic, would equally become the gravity and strict discipline of a monarchy. Whatever informations thou canst acquire relating to the trade, revenues, or marine of Athens, her religious ceremonies or civil institutions, will not fail to recommend thy diligence to a prince, whose goodness never forgets the meanest labours of his servants, and whose generosity takes every opportunity of rewarding them. As an earnest of what thou mayest expect, he sends thee,

thee, by this courier, a ring sparkling with a precious stone taken out of the royal treasury, two Median horses with rich caparisons, and a purse of five hundred golden darics. Receive this regal munificence with gratitude, and prove by thy services, that thou art not unworthy so great a mark of confidence and favour. It remains for me to inform thee, that several councils were lately held on Grecian affairs; in which it was debated, whether the great king should immediately offer his mediation by a solemn embassy to the Athenians and the Peloponnesian allies; or whether he should suffer the war to continue, till both sides were further weakened, and the losing party reduced to make application to us. The latter measure has, I think, with good reason, been chosen. It was considered, that it seems more for the honour of Persia not to enter into these affairs uninvited, and perhaps expose her mediation to contempt. Besides, there is some danger, that if we discover our intentions too early, the natural jealousies of the Greeks with regard to us, may be awakened; a sense of their mutual interests may prevail over the spirit of dissension and tumult, which now reigns among them; and so the game be played out of our hands, through our own want of dexterity in managing it. Whereas, by delaying to open the part which Persia designs to take in these differences, the alarm which Sparta has conceived at the rising greatness of Athens is so great, that the war is likely to continue and grow hotter every year. The conquering party will increase in their pretensions; the vanquished, exasperated by their losses, unwilling to yield to those who were formerly their equals, and unable to defend themselves, can have no where recourse for assistance but to us; and thus the balance must naturally be placed in our hands, and the Grecian states, diverted from making conquests over us, will voluntarily sue for protection against their powerful neighbours, to a country which they formerly despised and hated. But I forbear insisting upon the advantages arising to Persia from this

VOL. I.

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conduct;

conduct ; it is every way so agreeable to her true interests, that it would be doubting thy judgment to enforce it by farther arguments.

Advice from Lacedæmon assures us, that the leading men among the allies are determined before the end of the year to send a formal embassy to the great king, requesting that he would enter into the league, and furnish them with supplies of men and money. Fail not to advertise, whether the Athenians have notice of this ; and whether they have any intention to follow an example so glorious for Persia.

Before I conclude this dispatch, I am to acquaint thee, by the king's express order, that he is sensible, in case the plague breaks out at Athens, (as it is reported,) of the dangers to which thou must be exposed in a city not able to contain its numerous inhabitants, whose present inconveniencies so terrible a distress will necessarily increase ; and therefore he thinks it proper for thee to remove to a place which may be free from that calamity, and at the same time not far from Athens. Thus neither will thy own safety be exposed, nor at the same time the king's service receive any detriment.

When thou readest this instance of royal tenderness for an useful minister, and receivest the marks of princely bounty which accompany it, thou hast reason to thank the mighty OROMASDES, that thou art born a subject of Persia, and livest under the reign of ARTAXERXES.

From Susa.

P.

L E T T E R X V.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

HEARING of the messenger that was to set out to you from GOBRYAS, I would not omit the opportunity it offers me of expressing the concern I am under for your safety; the latest reports from Greece having informed us, that they begin to be under dismal apprehensions of the plague at Athens. It is said, that the cattle,* as they graze in the meads adjacent to that city, are seized with the noxious vapours ascending from the earth, and fall instantaneously dead; the sure and common presage that the same calamity will soon extend itself to the human species. I could wish, therefore, you were removed farther from the contagion. May at least those propitious beings, who, under the great OROMASDES, are the guardians of our state, preserve the faithful minister of the great king, even amidst the regions of death. I wish you were safe at Susa, could the interests of ARTAXERXES be served so well by any other person less valuable to all his friends. Whilst we enjoy the clemencies of a mild and wholesome air, thou in a rough and unpleasant country, exposed to the rigours of a northern sky, art not only placed amidst tumults, depopulations, and the alarms of war, but art exposed to evils which no human forecast can ward against; all which thou bearest most willingly for the service of Persia. Excellent CLEANDER! what reward will not thy merit call for? May some happy day restore thee to thy friends and country, where MEGABYZUS, who knows thy worth, will raise thee to distinguished honours, and place

* Οὐρανὸς πᾶσι κτήρεσιν ἐνέδωκε. *Iliad. 4.*

thee in some tranquil station under the smiles of our mighty sovereign. That great minister knows so well to allay the boisterous swellings and animosities of contending interests, that peace and unanimity seem now entirely to prevail over faction and discord; and may they long continue undisturbed by the seditious efforts of envy and ambition, in the Persian court! A sense too of duty to the supreme being seems more fervent upon our minds than usual; though were we ever so forgetful of it at other times, our late deliverances would strongly have demanded it from us at this. And here it may not be unentertaining to mention to thee, with what religious care a solemn festival was celebrated thereupon at Susa. Forty days were set apart for feasts and sacrifices; during that time the court put on an extraordinary air of splendour and cheerfulness; but there were none of those looser revels, which commonly attend an excess of rejoicing. The most eminent of the Magi, from all the colleges in Persia, were summoned to be present at the sacrifices. The first morning the chief of the Magi, with a long train of his associates, and the several ministers of the religious ceremonies following him,* ascended the highest of the mountains that environ Susa to the north; clad in the sacred vestments, his† tiara interwoven with myrtle. He bowed twice towards the rising sun; then led the victim to the appointed ground, and there invoked the god. ARTAXERXES and the queen XERXES, SOGDIANUS, OCHUS, and ARSITES, with all the other princes of the blood, were present at these holy rites. Each of the Magi sung oraisons in their turn to the great author of the world. But ARIMASPES, as chief in dignity, had justly the preference given him of hymning the praise of OROMASDES the best. "How, at his great command, the wide expanse was filled " with beings; how, at his word, the bright and radiant sun first

* Herod. Clío. c. 131.

† Ibid. c. 132.

" spread

“ spread his gilded rays to cheer and gladden nature ; how the elements were disposed by him, and the seeds of all things ranged in order ; how, by his power, they are preserved, and made the principles of life and vegetation to all creatures, which, if he withheld his salutary influences, would swarm at once with death and contagion ; how, by him alone, the subtle fleeces of the air are kept untainted, and the earth free from impurities and infection ; hence that the whole expanse is God, since he pervades the whole, and by his power is present every where.” The song being ended, you might have seen the awful lord of Asia prostrate on the earth, acknowledging a much higher power ; a power upon whom he and all the princes of the earth depend. The inferior Magi sacrificed in their order, according to their different institutions ; and joined at last in one general symphony of praise, while a hundred victims lost their breath, to the eternal source of good. It was glorious to observe the long procession as it ascended up the steep ; but more so, to behold the vast retinue and splendid equipages spreading over the summits of the highest hills ; the sparkling ensigns of regality ; the stately canopy blazing with the gems of Indus ; the rich caparisons of the camels and horses ; and then to see the mightiest satraps, together with their potent lord, descend from their seats of state, bowing themselves all at once before the greater sovereign of the universe. When this solemn ceremony was ended, the whole company returned in the same regular order in which they went. The procession entered the spacious enclosure of the royal palace at the gate of Memnon, where a sumptuous entertainment was prepared. The king himself sat at one table with the princes of the blood, waited upon by the great officers of the household : at another, the most considerable satraps, and the generals of the army : at a third, the venerable body of the Magi ; and at others, through the several stately

stately apartments of the palace, the inhabitants of Susa. During the entertainment the halls resounded with the melodious airs of women, and the enchanting strains of the most skilful musicians. Nothing could be added to the splendour, order, and variety, that appeared on this occasion. Thy friends wanted thee alone to complete their satisfaction. This only consolation remains to them, that by undergoing a few temporary inconveniencies, thou art in the highest degree useful to thy king and thy country. Adieu.

From Susa.

L.

End of the first Year of the War.

*A. M. 3574. Third Year of the 87th Olympiad.
The second Year of the Peloponnesian War.*

LETTER XVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, Chief Scribe to ARTAXERXES King of Persia.

I RECEIVED the dispatch which thou sentest me by the courier HYDARNES; and acknowledge myself highly honoured, that I am thought worthy to partake in the secret counsels of our great monarch, as well as sensibly affected by the signal generosity and tenderness which he shews for his faithful slave. I prostrate myself before the footstool of his shining throne, and wish him length of days; a blessing which is sure to give perpetuity to the happiness of Persia, and the only one that remains to be added to the wisdom of his government, the greatness of his soul, and the princely benevolence of his temper.

I obeyed the command laid upon me to retire during the height of the plague, and found an hospitable retreat in the island of Salamis; but I fear, though my own safety is less endangered, I shall be necessarily slower in executing the king's orders, and transmitting accounts of Grecian affairs. If any delay should happen, I hope it will not be imputed to my negligence, but to the inconveniencies of the

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the times, and the difficulty of procuring intelligence here, through the caution of the magistrates.

Just before the plague broke out, the Peloponnesian army, under the command of ARCHIDAMUS, king of Sparta, made a second invasion into Attica; they are now marched towards the mountain Larius, where the Athenians have silver mines. I believe the plan of the war will not be different from that of the last year; and this dreadful calamity takes away the flower of their citizens and soldiers, and so dispirits the rest, that PERICLES does not think it prudent to hazard the issue of a battle. In order, however, to make a diversion, a squadron of a hundred gallies is preparing to put to sea, which he intends to command himself. His enemies incense the people against him, (who were never more harassed and uneasy,) by saying, that the vast numbers he drew out of the country last year increase the contagion of the distemper. I gave the reasons of that measure in a former letter; and cannot help saying, that it is highly unjust and unfair to charge him with all those cross accidents of fortune which the most refined human prudence and forecast cannot prevent. It seems as unreasonable as to assert, that the plague is owing to his contrivance. By going admiral in person, he either intends to preserve his credit and keep up the spirits of his countrymen by some remarkable exploit, or else to withdraw himself from the clamours of his enemies, till the fury of the disease is a little abated.

The resemblance of the symptoms shews, that the plague is of the same strange nature as that which began in Ethiopia and Egypt, and afterwards ravaged the Persian provinces.

Every other sickness turns immediately to this, which generally kills in seven or eight days, after great pains and eruptions in all parts

parts of the body, insatiate thirst, want of sleep, and variety of circumstances, which increase the natural terrors and uneasiness of death. It is very remarkable, that none who recover are ever seized with it a second time ; yet even in some of these it strikes upon their senses, effaces the memory of all passages of their lives, and makes them forget their nearest relations. What is most surprizing is, that no certain remedies can be applied : a medicine that does good to one, is hurtful to another ; and the care and closest attendance of the physician are as useless, as the utmost efforts of his art.

The air itself partakes of the malignity ; the birds drop down, as they fly along the streets ; and the dead bodies, for want of interment, share the same sepulchre with the brutes, and are cast out in the public streets, so many loathsome and moving spectacles of mortality. The greatest part of the inhabitants of the country, who for want of other accommodations were forced to dwell in booths and huts set up in the public places, are liable to the greatest inconveniencies. The living and the dead amongst them lie confused in heaps, some in the agonies of death, others lifting up their hands to heaven, and imploring the divine assistance, and many gasping round the fountains, where they crowd to quench their thirst. Nay, what is almost incredible, a neglect of religion and the laws is introduced by the prevalence of this calamity ; of the former, because they see the plague destroys alike the pious and the wicked ; of the latter, because no one expects his life will last till legal justice overtakes him. Indeed, nothing contributes more to the disorderly condition they are in, than the want of proper regulations for removing and attending the sick, and burning the dead : and were they of an humour to submit to any thing like restraint, it might preserve them from the confusion and misery they now undergo. Such is the dismal state of affairs at Athens ; to which no small relief is brought by the arrival

of HIPPOCRATES, the famous Coan physician; who is determined, though at the hazard of his life, to devote himself entirely to the service of the diseased. This generosity has so sensibly affected the people of Athens, that they resolve to bestow on him some illustrious mark of their esteem and favour. I need not mention, that they honour him the more, for having refused the munificent offers of the great king, that he might be quite at liberty when Greece demanded his assistance.

I can assure thee, that the Athenians have no information yet of the Peloponnesian embassy; but PERICLES has agents in all parts, who will not fail to give him early notice of it. There is a remarkable story of him, that, upon giving in his accounts once to the people, in an article of fifteen talents no particular service was specified. His enemies taking the advantage, immediately insisted he should explain it; to which he replied very readily, that this sum was employed on a service of great importance, which it was absolutely necessary to keep secret. The people were satisfied, and made no farther enquiry. It is generally supposed, that these fifteen talents were laid out at Sparta, to keep off a war, till the Athenians were better prepared for it. The Lacedæmonians have a fine opportunity, if they make the best use of this campaign; but I am told they are discontented with ARCHIDAMUS their general, who declared himself openly against the war, and is unwilling to engage his state too far in it. Besides, nothing considerable can be done against the Athenians by land, and they always have a good fleet at sea, to guard their coasts, interrupt the commerce of their enemies, and prevent the defection of their allies. I send thee inclosed a list of the allies on both sides, and the contributions they furnish towards the war. The Athenians are absolute masters over theirs, whereas the separate interests amongst the Peloponnesians embarrass their military operations for want of unanimity.

Excuse,

Excuse, potent minister, the dismal scene of death and desolation, which I set before thee in the former part of this dispatch; but I might justly have been esteemed insensible, if the little I saw myself, and the large accounts I received from others, had made only a transient impression. Compassion is a common tribute to the miseries and infirmities which human nature is exposed to; and a generous mind like thine pays it willingly to the worst of its foes. Much more than let the humblest servant of ARTAXERXES, the faithful CLEANDER, claim some share of pity in his hazardous situation. But he repines not at his fate; he should think it honourable to perish in the service of his master. He is thankful to OROMASDES for the life he still enjoys, and refers the uncertain events of futurity to his overruling will. Adieu.

From Salamis.

P.

Allies of the Athenians.

The Chians, Lesbians, Platæans, Corcyræans, most of the Acarnanians. Messenians, &c.

Allies of the Lacedæmonians.

All Peloponnesus, except Argos and Achaia; the Megareans, Phocians, Locrians, Bœotians, Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactorians.

LETTER XVII.

SMERDIS *to* CLEANDER.

WERE the sweetest retirement a sufficient asylum from care, the Magi would be exempted from those reflections, which prey upon the minds of unhappy mortals. We inhabit those groves,

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which

which have been the mansions of the wise and virtuous, by the appointment of ZOROASTRES, who blessed them with his abode ; and whose memory still warms our breasts with a noble enthusiasm. We point out in our pleased imagination the paths he trod, and the places he took most delight in : here, say we, within the spacious arch of this cave he penn'd his divine precepts ; on the slope of yonder hill ; or under the shade of that ancient cedar, he reposed himself, and while his eyelids shut out the piercing light, his soul was open to the milder influence of OROMASDES. He held an intercourse with the heavenly bodies from the summit of this pyramid, or of that mount, whose sides are covered with odorous shrubs, that scarcely afford a perplexed path to its top. The very air of this country is perfumed and of a purer draught ; the sky more serene and of a brighter azure ; the prospects beautiful and various, since nature is not only favourable to us, but has received all the improvement she was capable of, without being disguised by art. Immense wealth has been bestowed on her cultivation, yet the richness of her dress seems to arise from the genius of the place. You are surprized at the elegance that appears, yet can see nothing but what bears a resemblance to something you have observed in rude nature ; like a mistress of a well-ordered family, though she receives you with the utmost delicacy and magnificence, it is with that ease, that she seems not to be at any trouble, or to have been put out of her ordinary course for your entertainment.

Yet I must confess, amidst these delightful scenes, sacred to peace and the contemplation of everlasting OROMASDES, I am not without some anxiety for your safety, O CLEANDER ! when I consider your hazardous situation for the service of Persia, and your zeal for that monarch, who outshines all his predecessors in justice, who will not fail to reward the success, which your zeal and penetration promise to our affairs. Your steady affection has gained you much confidence
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with the great, and your perfect knowledge of the language, interests, and politics of our enemies, no less than those of Persia, give great assurance to your friends, that you shall one day be recalled from your obscurity to be raised high in the court of Susa. Your merit to your country will meet with other recompence than the jealousy of Greece generally affords her benefactors. The sovereign of the East is too generous to suspect rivalry in his faithful servants, and will look upon the influence you shall gain in the states of Greece, as the greatest testimony of your fidelity.

I sometimes reflect on the worst that can befall you, from the prying discernment of the people you converse with, or those who are jealous of your credit at the court; but the sagacity of your prince will guard you from your domestic foes; and should the popular violence of Athens make itself accountable for your death, Asia would pour forth its numerous troops to revenge so base an indignity to the servant of ARTAXERXES. Perhaps you will think this lofty strain proceeds more from the zeal of a Persian, than my true sentiments, since we have experienced that a numerous army, nay I might say, numerous nations in arms, have been found unequal to the slender but well-conducted power of those smaller states; our soldiers have been distressed and scattered, though equal in number to all the inhabitants of Greece. But may I not hope, CLEANDER, that that insinuating evil, luxury, the parent of all our shame and misfortunes, has at last found a place amongst our enemies? Has not security, the result of success, relaxed their severe morals, and introduced emasculating pleasures, to which alone they are obliged for the advantages they gained over us? Are not these the Grecian refinements we hear so much of? Does not that boasted superiority in arts and politeness (from whence they brand all the world with the name of Barbarians) break out into extravagancy of dress, diet, and deportment? And has
not

not by this time the unrestrained populace, intoxicated with victory, mistaken licentiousness for liberty? Or is it possible, that a people so free and so successful should continue upon their guard against these worst of foes? No certainly, CLEANDER, the Persian luxury must be part of their acquisitions, which, like the fatal pestilence that occasioned such desolation in this empire, passed through Asia into Greece, and now preys upon our foes, must take its last residence with them; a disease more destructive than the pestilence, and which will baffle the skill of that haughty Coan physician, who, had he more lives than ever his art preserved, would deserve to forfeit them all in tortures for his insolence to the world's greatest monarch. I need not tell you, (what I doubt not is the boast of every Greek,) that when he was conjured to pass over into Asia, by a promise of that friendship which princes sue for, and to share in that wealth which is the tribute of three hundred provinces, he answered disdainfully, he would not desert his country to serve a Barbarian. Shame to the kingdom of Cyrus, that his successors, before whom the mighty satraps prostrate themselves to the earth, and whose name is awful to half mankind, should become the scorn of an ignoble Coan! But the Almighty has punished him, by transferring that evil on his own country, which he refused to suppress in Persia; which may teach us, that the worshippers of OROMASDES are not forsaken, since, though he has denied success to our arms, he has himself chastised the insolence of our foes.

From Balch in Bactria.

H.

LETTER XVIII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

I HAVE been informed of thy rising character not only from the chamberlain HYDASPES, but the common voice of fame ; and am the more confirmed in the just expectations I had conceived of thee, from the late honour of thy letter. The wisest legislators of Greece have generally made it one of their excellent laws, that the young men should pay respect to the sage instructions of their elders. But surely, if this maxim may at any time be set aside, it ought never to be more reversed than in our correspondence. For when I consider the lustre of thy parts, and the reach of thy knowledge, at a time of life which brings few even to the exercise of reason ; I amuse myself with the agreeable thoughts of profiting by thy information ; far, very far from imagining, that any thing which falls from CLEANDER can be of service to ORSAMES. However, as I shall always be proud to shew every mark of regard to a nobleman of your quality and hopes, I can assure thee, generous lord, that I think myself highly honoured by the particular and distinguishing proof thou hast granted me of thy favour.

It is with the utmost satisfaction I observe, how much thou canst disdain the ostentation and luxury of the Persian nobility ; and rather employest thyself in the useful pursuits of knowledge, than wanderest in the destructive paths of intoxicating pleasure. To say the truth, when I reflect on this particular, I admire thee for anticipating the experience without the infirmity of years, and moderating the fever of youth without losing the true spirit of it. Thou hast made
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it thy business, from the very earliest days of thy infancy, to acquaint thyself with the religion, laws, and constitution of thy country ; and art now travelling through other regions, to survey the temper, customs, and policy of those who differ from us. Thy epistle from Babylon is sufficient to convince me, thou art well qualified, from thy curiosity and eagerness, to procure the exactest intelligence ; from thy judgment and discretion, to select the most interesting circumstances ; from thy ingenuity and good sense, to relate them in the most accurate manner ; from thy prudence and sagacity, to draw the best and most rational inferences from them all. I am extremely impatient to learn a few particulars of that extraordinary people the Egyptians ; who inhabit a country, as remarkable for the polity of its laws, the wisdom of its religion, and the knowledge of its priests, as for the trade of its cities, the grandeur of its buildings, and the fertility of its soil. When thou enterest into that storehouse of wealth and commerce, (for so it may be termed with justice,) that repository of all sacred and profane science, though wilt be wrapt in pleasure and astonishment, at the variety, not to say profusion, of blessings, which art and nature have poured out for the subsistence, convenience, and ornament of that happy nation. A man of thy understanding will find a secret delight in tracing out the steps of the great heroes of antiquity ; he will be studious of searching into the annals of their story, and will meet with no small entertainment in hearing of the victories and military virtue of SESOSTRIS, or the peaceful arts and government of OSIRIS. He will listen with attention to the philosophical precepts and dark oracles of the priests ; he will investigate the long records of lunar years, and unveil the mysterious system of astronomy, and frame of nature, with much labour and toil. He will visit their public edifices, and the palaces of their kings with admiration ; and behold the temples of their gods with reverential regard. Those stupendous works of antiquity, which still exist there, can by

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no means escape the prying curiosity of his soul, or the careful diligence of his enquiries. He will view the pyramids and mausoleums, which have been preserved entire through a long course of centuries, the wonder of the world, with speculations of a moral kind. He will look upon them, as erected by the most powerful princes of the earth for a memorial of their pride to future ages, and as intended rather for an amazing spectacle to the living, than as places of repose to the dead. He will consider, that the founders of those monuments closed up the last scene of their false greatness in life, by raising these altars to their vanity: and gave in death an example to mankind of the extreme littleness of mortal arrogance, by mingling their own dust with so poor a share of that earth, which once was not sufficient to contain them.

The next period of thy journey leads thee into Greece, a country very different from that of Egypt, both in the qualities of its climate, and the manners of its people. Instead of the splendor and magnificence which appears in the cities of the latter, thou wilt find a general turn to parsimony and frugality among the inhabitants of the former. Instead of the peace and unanimity, which exists under a monarchical government, the popular frame of the Grecian republics is continually shaken by domestic faction. Athens, through the extent and abundance of her trade, the industry and œconomy of her people, the wisdom and courage of the great men she has produced, hath for many years borne the principal sway in their counsels. But the states of Peloponnesus, somewhat envious of her authority, have at length determined to destroy it. A violent pestilence, and a strong opposition to the measures of PERICLES, their chief adviser in this war, are at the same time broke out among the citizens. PERICLES, with no other restraint on the caprice of his countrymen, than what his own discretion can command, withstands the clamours of

VOL. I. 1 party,

party, and the stoutest efforts of sedition. However, he cannot hold it long; for I easily conjecture, from the present posture of affairs, that his enemies will never leave him, till they have wrested the reins of power from his hands. But more of this, when I shall enjoy the honour of thy company and conversation in the town of Athens, which is the place of my residence and business.

In the mean time give me leave to say, that I wish the improvement thou receivest from thy travels, may be equal to thy laudable thirst after knowledge: at least I know the result of them will, one day, be applied to the glory and security of our sovereign and the Persian empire. Thus, instead of meanly depending on the noble actions of thy ancestors, as the only merit thou canst boast, thy reputation will be as much superior to theirs, as thy virtues are superior. By this means thou wilt reflect a lustre on the fame of thy fathers; thou wilt become an honour to thyself and family; an ornament and service to thy friends and thy country. Adieu.

C.

I had almost forgotten to tell thee, that by the goodness of the king I am permitted to retire to Salamis, during the infection of the plague.

LETTER XIX.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

THY accounts of the marriage at ECBATANA, and the thanksgiving sacrifice on the hills of Susa, were so kindly and agreeably written, that I should appear inexcusably negligent in the cultivation of that friendship, which I esteem an honour to my character, if I
suffered

suffered a want of equal materials to plead my excuse for not answering them. It is needless to trouble thee with a long relation of the distress of the Athenians, since, besides the exact information thou hast already met with, I am afraid it would prove a very melancholy return to the pleasing cheerfulness of thy letters. But if pleasures of a private nature, in which thy friend is concerned, can add any thing to the satisfaction thou receivest from those of a public one, I will give thee a description of my retirement into Salamis, during the contagion of the plague; and the manner in which I employ my leisure hours. My old patron PHILEMON, through a laudable zeal in the service of his country, resolves to abide in the city, though at the peril of his own life. In the mean while, he has entrusted me with the charge of his family, and has sent us to his country-seat in this place, which is situated but a few furlongs from the coast of Attica.

Salamis is a small island of about two hundred and twenty stadia in circumference, remarkable for a complete victory gained over the fleet of XERXES by the conduct of THEMISTOCLES. It contains within that little compass a most surprising variety of hills and vales, rocks and plains, rivers and meadows, fruitful fields and spacious lawns. These are diversified with many beautiful villas, belonging to the principal citizens and magistrates of the town of Athens. Several plantations of fruit and forest trees, all strangers to the soil and climate of Persia, are here cultivated by the skill of the careful inhabitant; and contribute in a great measure to the romantic air and confusion of the landscape. On the summit of a lofty mountain, in the very middle of the island, you are presented with the noblest and most extensive prospect in the world. One view to the north (to say nothing of the pleasant country lying at your feet) commands Negara and Athens, with the ships in the Piræan harbour, through a considerable tract of land into the territories of Bœotia. Towards the

south, the cities of Argos, Mycenæ, and Epidaurus, rise full before your eyes. To the east, you are soon struck with those numerous isles, called the Cyclades, which appear like so many pointed rocks dispersed over the *Ægean* sea; and to the west, you survey the *Isthmus*, with the stately buildings of *Corinth*. The house and gardens of my friend are plain and homely, unadorned with the pride of eastern magnificence, and improved by the attick elegance of their owner. I frequently compare them with those of *Alcinous* in the *Grecian Homer*; and find the same simplicity in both, free from the false ornament and pomp of luxury. My time has of late been a good deal taken up (when the business of the king would permit me) in the perusal of the *Grecian poets and historians*. As thy curiosity will perhaps make thee desirous of being acquainted with their names and writings, I will fill this dispatch with the clearest account I have been able to obtain of them.

For this purpose, I shall begin with those who have done most honour to the art of poetry; since it was originally the chief vehicle by which the knowledge of government, religion, or philosophy, was conveyed to the dark understandings of mankind. The first founders of the fabulous theology are uncertain. *LINUS*, *ORPHEUS*, and *MUSÆUS* are remembered with some general marks of esteem, even in these ages of Greece. But their history is too uncertain and fictitious to bear a serious relation. We must descend therefore immediately to *HOMER*, who was at once the first and greatest poet of antiquity. The subject of his admired performance is the siege of *Troy*, and the adventures of the *Grecian heroes*, particularly of *ULYSSES*, on their returning, after a long absence, to their native kingdoms. He is said to have flourished between two and three hundred years after the destruction of that potent empire; and the Greeks retain such an high veneration for his memory, that many towns still contend for the

the honour of his birth. Smyrna carries the fairest title of them all; in confidence whereof she has erected a temple to his name, and the people worship him with the sacred rights of adoration. Consider him in his person and fortune, he is represented as a strolling indigent bard. Consider him, in the qualities of his mind, possessed of every natural and acquired endowment human nature is capable of, it is impossible to refuse him that reverence and regard, which is so justly due to the "father of the Grecian poets." At the same time I cannot be of their opinion, who ascribe the rise of all military and civil policy, religion and learning, to the genius of HOMER. It is enough to transmit his praise to the latest posterity, that the warmth and spirit of his expression is equal to the strength and loftiness of his thought, and the boldness of his imagination to the fertility of it. To this give me leave to add, that the beauty and contrivance of his fables, the music and variety of his numbers, and the regular composition of the whole, have raised the dignity of epic poetry in its infancy, if not at its very birth, to an inimitable period of perfection; insomuch that futurity shall wonder, without being able to arrive at it. HESIOD was a native of Cuma in Ætolia, and removed soon after his birth to Ascra in Bœotia. His writings are esteemed next in antiquity and value to those of HOMER. Some have wantonly made them contemporaries, and pretend to say, that HESIOD got the better of HOMER in a poetical dispute. But this is highly improbable, since it may be confessed, without detracting from his real merit, that HESIOD is by no means his equal. Besides, the nature of their talents is as different as the style of their poems. The one excels more in sublimity than in accuracy; is less indebted to art than to nature; more engaged in the tumults of war, than the quiet of retirement. The other is rather studious of plainness than sublimity; less fond of ornament, than propriety; more addicted to the images of a rural life, than the busy scenes of a public one. The simplicity
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of his parts, and the agreeable softness of his disposition, are evident from his choice of a style between loftiness and meanness, which is well suited to the undisturbed tranquillity of his station and temper. His success in this kind of poetry is sufficient to justify his claim to the second rank, without ever placing him in competition with HOMER for the first. They tell an odd story of him, which shews him to have been a man of either humour or caprice. For accidentally as he one day overheard a potter at his daily labour singing some of his verses with an ill accent and cadence, he threw himself down on the poor man's brittle property ; at which the fellow immediately cried out, " Why do you spoil my work ?" " Because," answered HESIOD, " you spoil mine."

ALCÆUS excelled in a different way both from HOMER and HESIOD ; but was more desirous of acquiring reputation in the capacity of a soldier and a patriot, than in that of a poet. His pretensions however to the two former, are not so well grounded as his pretensions to the latter. For as to his military glory, it appears, that in a battle between the Athenians and Mytileneans he fled suddenly from the engagement, and dishonourably left his shield in the possession of an enemy. And as to his zeal in the service of his country, notwithstanding his violent opposition to the measures of PITRACUS, the prudent tyrant of Metilene, he was ambitious of aspiring to that arbitrary command, which he blamed in the hands of another. All his writings are in the lyric strain, and composed in a very fine measure peculiar to himself. He has happily united closeness with magnificence, spirit with correctness, and the utmost strength of judgment with the warmth of fancy ; and though his muse is generally employed in matters of love and gallantry, yet he always shews himself fit for subjects of a nobler nature. Since I have mentioned ALCÆUS, I should not omit his famous contemporary SAPPHO, who
flourished

flourished in Mytilene about the forty-fourth olympiad, and was a woman of no great beauty, but of infinite delicacy and wit; enough one should have thought, to atone for her other defects. She disdained the most passionate addresses of *ALCÆUS*; and upon his whispering to her one day, "that he had something to tell her, but "was ashamed of it," she answered with a just indignation, "that "if he had no reason to be ashamed of it, he would not conceal it." Her cruelty to him is the more remarkable, because she was much enamoured of one *PHAON*, whose unkindness in leaving her, as it was the occasion of her finest performances, so it was the cause of her death. She had a wonderful vein of insinuation and softness, which, even now, gives her writings such a powerful sway over the tenderest affections of human nature. There is something so graceful and unaffected in her expression and sentiments, so smooth and harmonious in her numbers, that the title of "tenth muse," bestowed on her by the common voice of Greece, is no more than a due testimony of respect to the merit of her poetry.

ARCHILOCHUS was a native of *Paros*, and held in esteem as a poet, about the same time with *SAPPHO* and *ALCÆUS*. He generally passes among the Greeks for the inventor of a peculiar measure, called Iambic verse; but a man of learning assured me, that there is a piece of *HOMER*'s, named *Margites*, still extant, that proves the contrary. His way of writing is strong and nervous, short and pointed, witty and satirical, but tinged with so much gall and malice, that he himself professes, "he could spare neither friend nor foe." They tell a remarkable story of him, that one *LYCAMBES* having offered him his daughter in marriage, and afterwards refused to give her, *ARCHILOCHUS* lashed them with such rancour and severity, that he and his daughter both hanged themselves.

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Some years after lived ANACREON, of Teos in Ionia, a man of ease and pleasure, dividing his time betwixt the amusements of wine, love, and poetry. He was so professed an enemy to care and business, that when his patron POLYCRATES of SAMOS made him one day a present of five talents, it disturbed his sleep; so he carried it back again the next, and told him, "that how considerable soever the sum might be, it was not a reward equal to the trouble of pre-serving it." His writings are agreeable to the freedom of his behaviour; so that he draws a very lively picture of his own character in the several touches of nature, that are to be found in his odes and sonnets. We may compare his muse to his mistress; she seems airy, loose, and negligent, and is dressed up with more art, the more she hides the appearance of it. He lived eighty-five years in one continued series of health and retirement. To make his death conformable to his life, he is said to have been choaked with a grape-stone in his wine.

I shall not trouble thee with any memoirs of ALCMAN, BACCHYLIDES, IBYCUS, STESICHORUS, and SIMONIDES; though they excelled each in their different way, and the last of them hath particularly recorded, in verse, the four fights of MARATHON, THERMOPYLÆ, SALAMIS, and PLATÆA. But of all those, who contributed to support the grandeur of the lyric muse, PINDAR must be mentioned with most regard. His poems were composed in honour of several conquerors, at the Isthmian, Pythian, Nemæan, or Olympic games; and give us a notion of the highest transport and elevation, to which this art can be advanced. His designs are so vast, his style so daring, his thoughts so striking and uncommon, that it requires as much attention to read him, as to imitate others. He has often been censured as too unbridled and irregular; yet this is not the least of his beauties, since an ode is intended more to raise our fancy,

fancy, than to inform our judgment. It is adapted to the fire and majesty of PINDAR; his imagination is on the wing; he cannot stay for words to express himself methodically; he uses the boldest sort of painting; he gives us a general likeness of his hero, without finishing the features. Thus has he triumphed over the labours of art, and extorted this approbation from mankind, that he alone is the "perfect and unrivalled master of the Grecian Lyre." The Athenians pride themselves to this day in an act of uncommon generosity, which they performed towards this admired poet. His own countrymen, the Thebans, having fined him in a large sum of money, for the particular regard he pays every where to Athens in the course of his odes, and his neglect of Thebes, that was his native city, the people of Athens honourably discharged the fine, and proved themselves not unworthy of the great esteem which PINDAR had conceived for them.

I should proceed in the next place to the dramatic poetry of Athens, and the writers of history: however, as to the former, thou wilt forgive me, if I say nothing of it at present, since it really seems so interwoven with the frame of the Athenian constitution, that an account of it would hardly be so proper for the perusal of a friend, as of a minister of state: and as to the latter, I must delay the little materials I have collected upon that subject, to another letter. But I detain thee too long from the presence of thy prince, whose affection thou hast secured by the duty of thy obedience; and whose bounty, by the zeal of thy service. Adieu.

From Salamis.

C.

LETTER XX.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS the Mage.

THE miseries of the eastern world, whilst the plague lasted in those parts, much engaged my attention and my pity: and it seemed, as if the angry gods had intended by a variety of evils to extirpate the race of mortals from the earth. But sure their hottest vengeance was reserved for these devoted regions, and is now inflicted in the most complicated calamities that ever have befallen human kind. For that hasty and invisible destroyer, which had ravaged the Persian empire, begins now to spread itself through these parts, at a time when civil discord infests the Grecian states, and depopulates their most flourishing communities, worse than ever the Barbarian would have done. Who shall describe the terrors of the war, the ruins and devastations of many large and fruitful districts, which suffer not more from hostile fury, than from the policy of their own native inhabitants! By them are the most cultivated plains converted into solitary deserts; while the bare necessities, to support a lingering life of misery, are deposited in the principal cities only. Besides the numberless hardships which are undergone at Athens, while the whole people of Attica are pent up within the narrow bounds of that single metropolis, with these and many more circumstances of their distress, the plague, which daily increases, must, among such a swarm of unhappy families, make a far more terrible havock here than it has elsewhere done. These miseries, though I myself, by leave of our most gracious monarch, enjoy a securer station at Salamis, yet fill my mind with that confusion and medley of passions, as if from a rock I beheld the toss-
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ings of a tempestuous ocean, and saw the shattered barks breaking in pieces amidst the merciless shelves and waves. But say, venerable SMERDIS, who, in those sequestered shades sacred to everlasting peace, enjoyest the friendly intercourse of superior beings! whose hallowed soul, unruffled by the storm of passions, and pure from every guilt, is a mansion for the great OROMASDES; whose calmest influence raises there no frantic transports, no unnatural emotions: say, why is ARIMANIUS permitted to disturb and invert the order of OROMASDES's works? Whether from his influence, that the mind of man is so easily perverted, and refuses to be under the guidance of those principles, which alone could direct it aright. Is it, alas! by the instigations of this evil demon, that it turns aside from the paths of virtue, and neglecting the true scheme of rational life, perplexes itself with many vain and painful desires, till it is at length bewildered in an endless labyrinth of hurtful pursuits? And is it then, that in consequence of this depravity so far owing to his own malignant influences, that the curst ARIMANIUS is afterwards permitted to exhaust his utmost malice in punishing those by all kind of natural evils, whom he himself hath seduced and rendered obnoxious to them? Will the good and gracious OROMASDES suffer this to be? Teach me to solve these difficulties; instruct me better, if it be lawful, in the circumstances of our nature, and shew me how, amidst all these intricacies, to maintain the power and justify the goodness of OROMASDES. These indeed are speculations which ill befit me, and to which I have little time to attend in my present situation and employment. But the miseries, which are daily represented to me, possess my mind with such solemn gloom, that I cannot forbear often to indulge the anxious wanderings of my own thoughts therein. It is in those peaceful mansions where you inhabit, that the mind is at liberty to examine into these abstruser doctrines; and enlightened by the eternal OROMASDES, may reflect upon itself the lively image of his beloved emanation,

emanation, truth. Happy were those minutes, and I shall always rank them among the happiest of my whole life, which I spent with you in divine conversation, when I travelled into Bactria. How transported do I call to mind the hours when I was permitted to mingle among the learned crowd, and lay at your feet, while you presided in the schools of the Magi ! But how inexpressible is the remembrance of some few happy times, when with you I wandered in those blissful paths, which heavenly contemplation seems before all others to have chosen for her peculiar abodes. It grieves me, faithful SMERDIS, that any anxiety should discompose you amidst those delightful scenes, much more, any about my safety. A true zeal for the service of the Persian monarch, to whom I am bound in the strictest allegiance from the personal regards I owe him, has more than any other consideration attached me to his interests. Whatever then be ordained my fate, I shall endeavour with the greatest composure to submit to it. For that being, whom I have learnt among you to adore with a purer worship, that immaterial and invisible, call him OROMASDES, or whatever other name shall best express him to us, however clouds and darkness at present are about him, or at least involve our weaker understandings, cannot, I am persuaded, but be both powerful, just, and good ; neither will I believe that he who sincerely seeks to please him by acting virtuously, will in the event of things be neglected by him. In the midst of these calamities at Athens, the famous HIPPOCRATES is arrived there ; a man so eminent for his excellent skill and success in physic, that the greatest king thought no price too high to purchase him ; a man, whose upright integrity, undaunted constancy, and love of the Grecian name endears him to the Athenians beyond their greatest benefactors, as his forementioned excellencies raise their esteem and veneration for him, as if their god APOLLO or ÆSCULAPIUS were come down among them. And though it were presumption almost
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in any thing to differ from thee, (and surely thy zeal for the Persian glory, and extreme veneration of the great king, can never be too much applauded,) yet say, O gentle SMERDIS, can such a man deserve so severe a censure? The refusal is indeed astonishing; such wealth, such power, such interest with the greatest monarch of the world, were a bribe almost for the strictest virtue. But HIPPOCRATES can all this withstand: amazing obstinacy a Persian would call it, since the subjects of the great king have learnt to fall before his throne, and prostrate themselves at his footstool as to the shrine of some god; and I doubt not but custom has so well reconciled to them a government, which the Greeks call slavery, that they do this with the heartiest veneration for their sovereign; and where so excellent a prince presides this may be perhaps the most perfect form of government. But as the genius and customs of countries vary, of course the manners of men must differ; and a diversity of circumstances will make that in one instance laudable, which were quite otherwise in another. To be born, educated, and converse in the free states of Greece must necessarily form the mind to principles of liberty, and settle in it very opposite notions of what is great and virtuous, to those a Persian will from his education imbibe. It has done so all along while Greece retained its pristine glory; and can there then be a more illustrious example of Grecian virtue, can the love of one's country be carried higher, or can inflexible honour and unbiassed greatness of soul be shewn in any instance that exceeds this?

From Salamis.

L.

LETTER XXI.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER at Salamis. *From Saba in Arabia.*

LEAVING Babylon we fell down the king's river into the Tigris, the cataracts in this part of it, being lately removed at the representation of some eminent merchants; and were conducted in one of the royal galleys to the Persian gulf, and landed upon Arabia the Happy at the Portus Itamus, the first haven beyond the mountains which divide that district from the sandy deserts. As soon as we came into the Sabæan territories, the whole country seemed one universal altar, ever breathing forth spontaneous incense to the heavens. The sweet effluvia are wafted by the winds, and spread a grateful fragrance for many miles beyond the coasts. And even the shores are covered with cassia and other odoriferous plants, that perfume the air with a strange variety of healthful and pleasant scents.

The rich product of this happy land brought to my mind the fable of MYRRHA's transformation, and her detestable passion for her father CINTRAS. The fictions indeed of a poetical fancy are commonly as arbitrary as the stories of the vulgar are incredible and ridiculous; and yet many traditionary fables, however wild and improbable they appear, are capable of being traced up to some very distant origin of truth. And thus, I was not a little surprized being told by a native of this country, that there is a people in the farthest limits of the other Arabia, bordering upon Syria, whose descent is, by the most ancient and best-warranted records of history, deduced from an unnatural mixture of the same kind; they inhabit upon the
river

river Arnon, and their chief city is Areopolis. The country, as we entered it farther and came nearer to Saba, still grew more ravishing, as well to the eye as the other senses*. We saw in our way several wild asses and ostriches of a large size, though both are more common in the deserts beyond the mountains. The first are exceedingly fleet, but the way of hunting them is by horsemen placed up and down in different parts of the chace; for the creature, after having run some time, will stop and stand still, but regains ground again so fast, that no single horse can keep up after it. Their flesh is esteemed by the luxurious in eating much nicer than that of venison. The ostrich is not to be taken, because when her feet fail her, she can use her wings to escape. The spacious plains, that lie between the mountains, are garnished with the freshest herbage, and laid out by nature in the most beautiful garden, where the fertile soil teams with aromatic gums and the party-coloured blossoms of odoriferous spices. The sides of the mountains still exceed the vallies in plenteousness. There rise the clearest springs, which, after they have run among the hills, supply refreshing rivers to water the plains beneath. The hanging groves of palm-trees on the steepest declivities shade the delighted traveller, while the impending rays of a more genial sun ripen the vegetable juices, and amidst the pregnant minerals digest the rich seeds of gold†. Saba, the ancient metropolis of this happy land, is situated on an easy ascent: the mountains that surround it rise and fall in shapes the most pleasingly striking and romantic, discovering the summits of other hills beyond them, which are seen in prospect from the royal town, till the eye is lost in an undistinguished mass of fainter risings, blended by their distance amidst transparent clouds. I call it the royal town,

* Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. Ed. Francof. lib. prim. p. 256.

† Agatharchidis Periplo, p. 63.

for

for a sort of kingly government still subsists in it*; nor have the Arabians of this district been ever subjected to a foreign power, as the Arabians in general are rather friends and allies to the Persian empire, as they were before to the Assyrian, than vassals and tributaries to either; though upon some occasions they have courted by presents the favour of our mighty monarchs. The riches and grandeur of this place bespeak it to have been the seat of many potent princes. The palace, the citadel, and the ruins of a library, shew the most expensive state of royal magnificence. The porticos of their public buildings are overlaid with gold; but the splendor of some of their private houses is incredible. A monument is still shewn in an ancient temple, where they say is reposed the sacred dust of a queen, once the wonder and glory of the East: a queen, whose genius was equal to the highest things, and her learning and knowledge proportionate to her genius. It was her thirst after the endowments of the latter, that induced her to travel into the distant country of Judæa, with infinite pomp and magnificence, to visit a king renowned for the greatness of his wisdom, the riches of his kingdom, and the prosperity of his reign. She proved him by hard questions, and discoursed with him on subjects of the most refined nature. His wisdom, his riches, his prosperity, exceeded the reports of fame, and wrapt her in the deepest astonishment†. Under her reign Arabia was a powerful and flourishing kingdom‡; an epoch of its greatness more certain than the ancient times they boast, of their kings reigning in Babylonia before the days of NINUS. She ruled with wisdom and equanimity, beloved by her subjects, and regarded by all as their common parent: her court was a college of learned men, where all were generously received, and met with suit-

* Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. initio. Herod. Thal. c. 97. Ibid. 91. & 7. Ibid. lib. iii. c. 3.

† Vide the Additions at the end.

‡ Syncell.

able

able rewards, who made any useful improvements in arts and sciences, or new discoveries in the knowledge of nature. Among other improvements*, the Arabians are esteemed to be skilled in augury and soothsaying. Whether there is any certainty in this science, it belongs not to me to dispute. Our great CYRUS is reported to have paid a religious regard to augury. It is not improbable, that as the warmth and pleasantness of the climate will allow them to lie out all the year in the fields with their flocks and cattle, which, in several parts of this country, they are great dealers in, they may have made more observations than others upon the different flights and motions, the various sounds and voices, of the fowls of the air. My short stay here, in passing through the country, will not permit me to make a strict inquiry into their religious doctrines and ceremonies. But the chief objects of their worship are the sun and moon†, which they name in their languages Urotalt and Alilat; and to Urotalt is daily offered frankincense and myrrh in his temple at Saba. They pay likewise a religious regard to the souls of their most eminent lawgivers and benefactors‡, upon a persuasion, which has pretty generally prevailed throughout the world, and is a principle of the philosophy of the Sabian Magi, that those excellent persons were benevolent demons, who from a superior happy state descended into mortal bodies, and were contented to submit to all the inconveniencies and evils of human life, for the benefit and advantage of mankind.

* Cicero, de Divin. lib. i. c. 42.

† Herod. Thal. c. 8. Philostorg. in Phot. Strabo, & Theophrast.

‡ Δεδωκεν δὲ ὁ Θεὸς αἱ Βίβλαις διαφερὲς τιμωρίας τοῖς αὐτῶν κηδεῖται, φοβῆς λόγ ἁλῶδες κατὰ Πλάτωνα καλεομένης· τὸν ὑπερφάνον τίτου νεμεσίαν ἰδού· οἱ τίτῳ το τάρταρος, καὶ σῶμα ἀναδυσσόμενος—ὑπελαβόμενος—Βραχμάνις· το σύμπαντις—ἰδωδίστωρ, ἀκρῶς τὰ ἰαίονα. Καλλῶν τι καὶ Ἀρῶν οἱ κωδίστις Εὐδαίμονος. Clem. Alexan. Strom. lib. i.

Thy letter, CLEANDER, has just reached me, in which thou conceivest too high an opinion of my parts and improvements. But however incapable I am of answering thy expectations, or following thy excellent rules for the direction of my travels, I am glad thou encouragest me to unbosom to thee such trivial observations, as a variety of new objects will naturally suggest ; which to a young traveller, when the fancy is heated, and his thoughts distracted with repeated novelties, is next to the pleasure he took in seeing the things themselves. I rejoice that thou art removed to Salamis, and that our excellent monarch has such a tender regard for his able and faithful ministers. Adieu.

L.

LETTER XXII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

MY last letters, noble scribe, contained a faithful account of the miserable state of Athens, under the afflicting circumstances of a war and pestilence united to distress them. The posture of their affairs, since I wrote, has received no alteration, but what increases their discontent, and adds to their misfortunes. Besides the continuance of the plague, the operations of this summer's campaign were not much in their favour. PERICLES has been forced to raise the siege of Epidaurus, and is returned home with his squadron, after wasting the coasts of Peloponnesus, which is the only damage their enemies have received from this expedition. News is since come, that the siege of Potidæa goes on very slowly ; the army before that place being much weakened, as well by the sallies of the garrison as by the plague, which a late reinforcement from Athens brought

brought among them. The Peloponnesian army did not stay long in the territories of Attica; for hearing that PERICLES was ravaging their country, and being apprehensive of infection from the plague, they retired home, and are now dispersed into their respective cities. The Lacedæmonians are preparing to invade the island of Zacynthus. The party opposite to PERICLES take advantage of his ill success at Epidaurus, to incense the people against him, who expected he would have made their domestic grievances more tolerable, by extending their power and reputation abroad. CLEON accuses him in every assembly, in his insolent and declamatory harangues, as the sole cause of the miseries of Greece. He charges him with having involved his country in an expensive war, purely for his own interest, and the preservation of his own authority; and then wasting the public treasure in fruitless expeditions, and suffering their enemies to insult them at their gates, through cowardice and imprudence in the conduct of it. Another piece of slander is spread about, relating to a decree of the Athenians against Megara, which prohibits all commerce between the two cities, makes it capital for any native of Megara to be seen in the dominions of Athens, and enjoins the generals of the republic to make an annual invasion of their territories. This severe decree the Lacedæmonians demanded to have reversed; which PERICLES strenuously opposed, recriminating upon the Megareans for harbouring their revolted slaves, and murdering an Athenian herald. However, it is confidently affirmed here, that he promoted this affair with no other view than to revenge an insult put upon his mistress ASPASIA by some young Megareans, who stole away two of her slaves. PERICLES and his friends justify his measures at large, against all these accusations. They represent, "that whoever considers the situation of affairs in Greece, must be "convinced that the war wanted no incendiary to set it on foot, "since it owes its rise to a very natural cause, the jealousies of La-

"cedæmon and Peloponnesus of the grandeur of Athens; particu-
 "larly of the former, as they thought it had risen upon the ruins
 "of theirs; that the Athenians had paid more regard even to the
 "literal sense of treaties than their enemies, who, before the war
 "broke out, required them to satisfy the complaints of the Corin-
 "thians and Megareans without farther debate, though it was ex-
 "pressly stipulated by an article of the last treaty between the Gre-
 "cian states, that all controversies should be referred to arbitrators,
 "to be determined in an amicable way, before either party had re-
 "course to arms: That many of the Lacedæmonians' demands,
 "though not in themselves unjust, were yet rendered improper to
 "be granted, by the imperious manner in which they were urged;
 "and that a tame and ready submission to them would have been
 "looked upon as a tacit confession, in the Athenians, of weakness
 "and pusillanimity. They vindicate the management of the war,
 "by laying it down as a clear maxim, that every state should exert
 "its natural strength in carrying one on; and that the Athenian
 "superiority in a naval force makes it necessary to form such a plan
 "of operations as is most suitable to the sea-service: That the
 "Peloponnesian invasion of Attica can never be of long duration,
 "because the country furnishes no subsistence for the forces; and it
 "would be a rash attempt to besiege so strong and well-garrisoned a
 "city as Athens: That in the mean time their coasts are exposed,
 "their commerce ruined, and their squadrons not able to resist those
 "of the Athenians."

This is the sum of the charge on the one hand, and the defence
 on the other. Those who exert themselves with most address in
 behalf of PERICLES, are his nephew ALCIBIADES, a young man
 of an aspiring disposition, and his old friend EPHIALTES the orator.
 CLEON, HYPERBOLUS, and TOLMIDES, men of low birth, but

some



ALCIBIADES.

From a Bust in the Clementine Museum at Rome.

London Published by Gaddell & Co. Dealers

Uor M

1840.

some popular talents, are the great opposers of his administration. And though I am far from thinking it faultless, yet, in the present dispute, I believe most argument will be found on his side, and the greatest variety of scandal on that of his adversaries. However, things here are in a very fluctuating condition. At present the people shew themselves so uneasy at the continuance of the plague and the war together, that in the last assembly ambassadors were sent to Lacedæmon to declare that they were ready to accept peace on any reasonable conditions. But I hear the last letters from thence give no hopes of obtaining it. I shall conclude this dispatch with mentioning, that HIPPOCRATES of Cos was ordered, by a late decree, to be initiated in the sacred mysteries, to be presented with a crown of gold, to enjoy all the privileges of an Athenian citizen, and to be maintained at the public charge for the rest of his life.

Such, potent minister, are the rewards of virtue amongst the Grecians; such the incitements to despise danger in the service of their country! A crown, bestowed by the free voice of the state: a statue erected to their honour; or a mark of respect shewn to their posterity; are sufficient recompences for the most illustrious actions, and allowed to none but persons of distinguished merits. Whilst they can attain these, they despise the treasures of the East, and account it more honourable to be a native of Athens or Sparta, though upon the level with their fellow-citizens, than a satrap of Persia, who has the inestimable distinction of approaching the splendid throne of the lord of Asia.

From Salamis.

P.

LETTER XXIII.

ARTAPHERNES to CLEANDER. *From the Forest of Nysa, near Ecbatana.*

I SHOULD own myself unworthy the correspondence you began last year in the hurry of your first arrival at Athens, if the disordered state of the province of Lydia, which was then added, by the king's goodness, to my former government of Sardis, did not furnish me with a sufficient excuse.

The corruptions and irregularities which, under the satrap my predecessor, had crept into the military and civil affairs of the province, as the management of the forces, the revenue, and the judicial proceedings, required not only an early, but in many cases a severe correction. I was obliged to remove several of the chief officers, to punish others as they deserved, and to prefer those who, for their abilities and integrity, were before neglected and disgraced. But as the most necessary reformation seldom fails of making the promoter of it unpopular, complaints were made against me at court by the persons removed, which, at the earnest request of their friends, occasioned a particular order to the inspectors, who are sent annually through the provinces of the empire to examine the conduct of the governors, that they should make a strict inquiry into mine. After a long and exact examination, I was declared to have acted, not only with impartial justice, but with the greatest regard to the honour of the empire, and the service of the king. And soon after the commissioners had made their report, I received a letter of thanks and approbation, signed with the king's own signet, besides

besides a rich Median vest, a farther proof of the royal favour. The affairs of Lydia being now quiet, and proceeding in a regular well-ordered course, I took a journey this summer to visit my friends at Ecbatana, and write to you from MEGABYZUS's palace in the forest of Nysa ; where that great man entertains his friends with that humanity and politeness which are so natural to him. HYDASPES, GOBRYAS, and INTAPHERNES, the captain of the Immortals, lay aside, now they are here, the manners of the court and the formalities of their offices ; and converse upon the terms of freedom without levity, and friendship without affected reserves. However, that we may not quite forget our distinct employments, and think ourselves transformed into Bactrian Magi, it frequently happens, that the minister is summoned to council, the secretary returns to his office, the chamberlain to his station in the palace, the commander to his quarters ; and all of us attend the king to the chace, which, you know, is the usual diversion of the court. At the last hunting match on Mount Orontes, a fierce tiger leaped out of a close thicket, and sprung forwards towards the king, who was in the utmost danger. ARTYPHIUS, the son of MEGABYZUS, stepped immediately before him, and with one stroke of his javelin laid the furious beast dead upon the spot. Nor was our generous lord unmindful of so signal an instance of courage and resolution ; for he presented his deliverer with a gold chain worth 1000 darics, besides adding the most obliging expressions of praise and esteem. This accident has been the more talked of, as the father was formerly disgraced for the very same thing that now procures rewards to the son. But the case of the former gave rise to an edict, declaring it lawful to strike a beast before the king had flung his dart, which was before looked upon as the highest instance of disrespect. The Cadusians have, from their mountainous country, made an incursion upon the northern parts of Media, taken a rich booty, and
defeated

defeated the satrap, who attempted to oppose their ravages. A body of troops lately marched towards those frontiers, and ARTYPIUS set out to-day with a stronger detachment to reinforce them. His late brave action furthered not a little his advancement to be general in this expedition; and as he is a young man of extraordinary skill and valour, it is not doubted but that he will soon reduce these barbarians. I think you will know all the court news, when I have told you that BAGORAZES, the eunuch, is made cup-bearer. HYDASPES, the chamberlain, communicated your last letter to the company here, which gave them great entertainment. They are only concerned that Persia cannot afford materials of equal value for an answer. Your friends think shortly of using your assistance in the purchase of Grecian books and curiosities. Such commissions will not be the least troublesome part of your employment. Your repeated acknowledgments for the good offices I did you with the Persian ministers were quite unnecessary; it is a sufficient return that you answer their highest expectations. Farewel.

P.

LETTER XXIV.

MEGABYZUS to CLEANDER. *From Ecbatana.*

THOUGH GOBRYAS has already acquainted thee with what approbation thy accounts of the affairs of Greece are received, and in his last dispatch had orders to open to thee the plan on which we determined to proceed in relation to these Grecian quarrels, and the reasons on which we formed it; yet I by no means think myself dispensed from acknowledging thy letters, or expressing as well the particular satisfaction they have given me, as the hopes I conceive, that

that thy past services will produce others of still greater value and importance. The plague, that rages at Athens, makes us a little impatient to know, whether it will produce an alteration in their measures; for affairs in a popular constitution are always so fluctuating and unsteady, that any present inconvenience or misfortune turns the course of their politics, and even shakes the foundations of their government. At the same time, though the Athenians have already offered peace, I much question whether the Lacedæmonians will accept it, without imposing conditions the most disadvantageous to the commerce and greatness of the former; perhaps obliging them to lessen the number of their ships, or give up the protection of the most useful of their allies. But if ever the Athenians submit to these terms, they will loose the two chief sources of their power and wealth, and be reduced to the same inconsiderable state, from whence they were raised, in my memory, by the judgment and valour of THEMISTOCLES.

Nor will it be for the interest of Persia, that either Lacedæmon or Athens should obtain the superiority over the rest of Greece, or be able to influence their councils. In that case, the ruling commonwealth would be always ready and able to undertake some united enterprize against Persia, invade the fertile provinces of Asia Minor, waste our coasts, encourage the disaffection of our governors, always prepared, through fear of punishment for their oppressions, to shake off their obedience, and erect the provinces entrusted to their care into independent principalities. But I hope for better things; that the spirit of our great CŒRUS, which watches over the mighty empire he so gloriously founded, will preserve the throne of his posterity from such insults; that the peace we continue to enjoy, will help us to expel every noxious humour or latent venom of fraud, rapine, and corruption, from the various parts of our government;

VOL. I

M

that

that a strict exercise of military discipline may restore to us those hardy troops which ravaged the empire of the East from the Assyrians, and made us masters of the wealth and pompous structures of Egypt; and that a regular and steady pursuit of well-grounded counsels may enable us to balance the divisions of Greece, and preserve such an equality of power amongst its different states, as to turn the scale effectually whenever we interpose.

The Peloponnesian ambassadors, with ARISTÆUS of Corinth at their head, are already on their way towards Thrace, where they are ordered to execute a commission with SITALCES, and from thence to repair to the court of our great monarch. We shall not be in haste to dispatch them, but, under pretence of examining the causes of their quarrel with Athens, and the motives they may offer to engage us in their alliance, detain them, till we see, whether the Athenians will follow them in applying for our assistance, or till the fortune of the war determines us which part it is most advantageous to Persia to support. In the mean time, continue to enquire, whether the Athenians are informed of this embassy, and send us speedy advice what resolutions they take upon it, by which it will be very necessary for us to regulate our behaviour. Our curiosity is not less raised to know how PERICLES stands his ground in this difficult situation. I cannot think they have any one considerable enough, either for abilities or authority, to succeed him in the chief management of their affairs. Be assured, CLEANDER, that however these fickle republics, founded in discord and mutability, change their favourites, because the shining lustre of their great qualities expose them to the malicious efforts of popular envy, the court of Persia follows no such maxim; the unjust custom of ostracism is not yet established here. Thy merits, far from giving umbrage, secure to thee the protection of thy prince and the esteem of his ministers;
and

and far from obstructing thy advancement, or rendering thee liable to disgrace, are the surest and most honourable methods of furthering thy progress in the one, and preserving thee from any danger of the other. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XXV.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. *From Thebes in Ægypt.*

AFTER we had traversed Arabia, and seen in our way the sepulchre of Isis, and Osiris at Nysa, the pillars of which are inscribed in the sacred Ægyptian letters, we passed the Idumæan gulf, and our tour lay strait for No-Ammon. This is the ancient Thebes of Ægypt, celebrated in the writings of the Grecian HOMER. The city is in circuit 140 stadia, but anciently took in a much greater compass; and both for the magnificence of its buildings, as well as the wealth contained within its walls, was esteemed not only the most beautiful and noble one of Ægypt, but of the whole world. From the long records of the Theban dynasty, it appears to have been founded in the earliest times. It was taken by surprize,* and first pillaged by the Carthaginians, when the rising greatness of their republic began first to annoy the neighbouring states. It was afterwards invaded by the Assyrian, but suffered most from the madness of CAMBYSES, when he returned from his Æthiopian expedition. It was then that ancient temple here, the largest and richest of the four, so admirable for its beauty and greatness, was stript of its gold, ivory, and precious stones. However, the fabric is left standing,

* Hanc inter exordia pandentis se late Carthaginis improvise exercitu duces oppressere Pœnorum.

Amnian. Marcell. lib. xvii.

and its circuit is 13 stadia, 45 cubits the height, with a wall 24 feet broad. There are about the city innumerable colossal statues and obelisks of one entire stone; and these form, on every side of this famous capital, those stately avenues which add so much to its apparent largeness. The many quarries of marble and porphyry, of which the upper Ægypt is full to the south, had furnished them with materials; nor can we wonder that they found hands to raise such stupendous works, when we are told that the ancient kings of Thebes carried their conquests as far as Scythia, Bactria, and India. The city extends for a great length on both sides the Nile; and in ancient times an hundred stables lay along the river, on the Lybian side, from Thebes to Memphis, each of which would contain 200 horses, which were always ready for the service of the state and the quick dispatches of public couriers; and many of these remain to this day very entire.

Among the principal wonders of Ægypt is always ranked the vocal statue of MEMNON*, which is of a stone called the Bisaltes, of the hardness and colour of iron. Half of it from the head to the middle was broken off by CAMBYSES; what remains is in a sitting posture, the feet and legs closed together. The sound it utters at sun-rising resembles that of the strings of a lyre, that is cracked and out of tune: the sound I am witness to, but cannot be sure whether it came from the base or the statue, or from any by-stander. Near this place† are concealed under-ground the most venerable remains of Ægyptian antiquity, I mean the pillars of HERMES‡. It was with much solicitation and difficulty I gained admittance to the place where they were shewn, and by a particular favour of the priests,

* Plin. lib. xxxvii. c. 7. Pausan. Att. p. 78. Philost. lib. vi. c. 3.

† Thebis trans Nilum ad Σεπρυας, quas vocant statua est resonans. Paus. Att. p. 78.

‡ Syncell. p. 40. b. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxii. p. 232.

for

for which I am indebted to PHARNUCES, the governor. Within the enclosure of an ancient edifice, a repository of the sacred books and other monuments, you descend a great depth by rough and craggy steps in the rock; the place seems to have been formerly dug into as a quarry. At the bottom a large gap opens before you, through which I was conducted into several dark chambers by perplexed winding passages, till at last I discovered a distant glimmering light, which directed me through a long narrow avenue, the farther end of which opened into a spacious cave. The strange solemnity of the place must strike every one that enters it with a religious horror; and is the most proper to work you up into that frame of mind, in which you will receive, with the most awful reverence and assent, whatever the priest who attends you is pleased to reveal concerning the wonderful monuments deposited therein. Towards the farther end of the cave, or within the inmost recess of some prodigious caverns that run beyond it, you hear, as it were a great way off, a noise resembling the distant roarings of the sea, and sometimes like the fall of waters dashing against rocks with great impetuosity. The noise is supposed to be so stunning and frightful, if you approach it, that few, they say, are inquisitive enough to search far into those mysterious sportings of nature. It put me in mind of those caverns* of the Magi, under the mountains of my native Persia, where, by a strange reverberation of sounds in those hollow cavities, at first you hear a confused murmur, like the noise of numerous armies at the onset of the battle; as you proceed farther, the noise thickens upon you as in the heat of an engagement; at last, it resembles the shouts and acclamations of a victory. The arrangement of the lamps in this cave is exceeding beautiful. There are taper pillars from the ground to the height of the vault, probably

* Clemens Alexand. Strom. lib. vi.

left

left in that fashion when part of the natural rock was excavated, and the lamps hang about them from the bottom to the top. Surrounded with these pillars of lamps are each of those venerable columns, which I am now to speak of, inscribed in the hieroglyphical letters with the primæval mysteries of the Ægyptian learning. They are said to have been placed here by HERMES TRISMEGISTUS*, a sage as highly revered amongst the Ægyptians, as ZOROASTER is with us. To him† they ascribe the contrivance of letters, and the first forming of articulate sounds, and every other invention of chief use to human life. They will not settle his antiquity: only told me, that these pillars had withstood the strongest shocks of nature, and remained firm and entire, when an universal deluge laid waste and shattered this terraqueous globe. The same person, I observe, they generally call TROT, or ATROTIES. To this MERCURY is attributed the famous computation of 36,525 years, in which period of time he supposed the several heavenly bodies did exactly go through all the relations, which they could have in their motions, to one another, and came round to the same point from which all their courses began; and upon these pillars, say the priests, he has given a perfect demonstration of it. To these their historians have recourse for the ancient annals of this country. From these pillars, and the sacred books, they maintain that all the philosophy and learning of the world has been derived. From these the ancient ORPHEUS borrowed his celebrated system of the origin of things. To these PYTHAGORAS and THALES were indebted for those discoveries which have established their reputation to all succeeding ages. It was my good fortune to be here at a time when a great sacrifice and lustration to the mysterious HERMES, or MERCURY, was to be solemnized within the bowels

* Or rather Mer-Cheres Trismegistus.

† Diod. Sic. lib. i.

of

of this stupendous cave, which is done once in fifty years ; at which time only it is granted, and that through a particular mark of favour and courtesy, to some stranger of rank and distinction, to be admitted within these hallowed caverns. At other times only the tedious discipline and preparations which PYTHAGORAS for thirty years underwent, to be initiated into their mysteries, would qualify one to be admitted to these sacred monuments.

The city takes its ancient name from the god AMMUN, whom the Greeks call JUPITER. He is the same with SATURN, or CHRONUS, the father of OSIRIS. From his other names, which are THAMUS* and CHAMUS, the whole land still retains at Thebes the name of Chemia†. He is represented with the face of a ram ; and in Thebais the killing of that species of animals would be punished as a most heinous and capital offence, which may be done but one day in the year, in the festivals of their god ; and then a single ram is slain, and his skin‡ fleeced off to be hung upon the statue of AMMUN ; and the image of HERCULES must be brought and set before it ; because it is said the god appeared in that manner to HERCULES, upon his earnest and pressing instances to see him. The carcase of the ram is afterwards beaten by all that attend at the solemnity, and then buried in one of the sacred repositories.

It is a tradition here§, that the first priestesses of the Libyan oracle of JUPITER AMMUN, and of the Dodonæan oracle in Greece, were taken away, and sold by the Phœnicians into those countries out of Thebes.

* Plato in Phædro. Βασίλειος τότε ἔσται Αἰγύπτου ἑλκες Θερμὴ ἀπὸ τῶν μεγάλων πύλων τῶ ἑκείνου, ὅς οἱ Ἕλληνας Αἰγυπτίας Θύβας καλεῖται, καὶ τοὶ Σκῆς Ἀμμωνία. p. 1240. b.

† Εἰς τὴν Αἰγύπτου Χημία καλεῖται. Plutar. de Iside.

‡ Herod. Euterp. 42.

§ Ibid. 54, 55.

I shall

I shall stay here some time, from whence I may entertain you with fresh varieties, if my report of things is in any sort interesting. Adieu.

L.

LETTER XXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Salamis.*

SINCE my last dispatch, noble scribe, the state of Athens has continued in a perpetual ferment. The jars and cabals of opposite factions, the calamities of the plague, the weight and charge of the war, a general dislike of the present measures, and no unanimity in a steady pursuit of others, have by turns occasioned the utmost perplexity in the counsels, and impatience in the tempers, of this people.

The ambassadors they had sent to Lacedæmon declared at their return, that peace could be obtained on no terms, but such as were absolutely disadvantageous and unreasonable. When the present condition of their affairs was debated in an extraordinary assembly, PERICLES rose, and with a resolution not to be daunted by the clamours of his adversaries, and a strength of argument which they were unable to confute, endeavoured to soften the irritated minds of the people, to raise their drooping spirits, and to turn their resentment from himself upon the Lacedæmonians. He represented to them, "That the reasons which induced him to enter into this war were still the same, and received no alteration from the cross accidents of fortune; which it was impossible for the most refined human prudence to foresee or prevent: That the misfortunes of particulars ought not to make them neglect the common interest of the whole,

“ whole, which could not be secured, but by preserving their
“ bravery and independence: That whilst they continued masters of
“ the sea, the ravages of their lands, or the loss of their country-
“ seats, were not to be regarded; these might easily be recovered:
“ but if they suffered their spirits to sink, and despaired of success,
“ they would not only be deprived of such ornamental advantages,
“ but of the most essential one of all, in which consisted the very
“ being of their republic, their liberty. Therefore (concluded he)
“ leave off blaming your governors for an event that seems inflicted
“ by the hand of Providence; since evils from Heaven are to be
“ patiently submitted to, those from men to be valiantly opposed.
“ Rouze up, Athenians, your ancient resolution and generosity;
“ send no more heralds to the Lacedæmonians, and shew yourselves
“ as well worthy as able to maintain your pretensions of being at
“ the head of Greece.” I have given this short account of PE-
RICLES's speech, that the Persian ministers might have an idea both
of the manner of addressing the people in these democratical govern-
ments, and of that particular force and vivacity which distinguish
the eloquence of this great statesman. He obtained part of what
he contended for; the assembly resolved that no more overtures of
peace should be made to the allies; but at the same time, in the
height of their warmth and violence, deprived him of his command,
and fined him fifty talents, upon the motion of CLEON and SIMMIAS.
Thus PERICLES, who has so long disposed, almost absolutely, of the
treasures, forces, and honours of Athens, is reduced by a single vote
to the condition of a private citizen; undistinguished by any, ex-
cept his former reputation and eminent abilities, which spread such
a lustre round him, that no artful colouring of his adversaries can
ever deface. Nay, perhaps, to a philosophic eye, he appears greater
in his disgrace, which he bears with temper, than adorned with all
the glory of external grandeur and dignity. The death of several

VOL. I. N OF

of his friends and chief confidants in business, and the divisions occasioned in his family, through the extravagance of his son XANTIPPUS, add no small pressure to his misfortunes.

As soon as these animosities begin to cool, I shall not fail to send advice in what hands the administration seems most likely to be lodged; whether in a set of new favourites, or (as several imagine) in those of the old one. I come now to answer the particular direction thou gavest me concerning the Peloponnesian embassy, which has been since repeated by MEGABYZUS; and I am sorry my information must prove disagreeable, for the Athenians are now acquainted with the design on which the ambassadors are sent to SITALCES and our great master, and the route they are to take. Yesterday the senate dispatched a courier, with private orders to their ministers at the court of SITALCES; and though the contents of them are not publicly known, and are kept as secret as any thing can be in a popular government, I have no room to doubt that they contain a demand that the Peloponnesian ambassadors should be put into their hands; in which request they expect to be assisted by SADOCUS, the son of the Thracian prince, who was last year made a citizen of Athens. ARISTEUS, the chief of the embassy, is particularly aimed at: it appears that the revolt of Potidea, and the troubles in Thrace, are owing to his contrivance. Might I presume to advise the Persian ministry, if this letter arrives in time, some person of address and skill in the Thracian manners should be sent, on the part of the king, to SITALCES, and endeavour, either by menaces or bribes, to prevent so base a compliance. But thou must receive advice of the issue of this matter much sooner from PHARNABAZUS, the governor of the Hellespont, than from hence. I cannot, however, help expressing my concern for the safety of these ambassadors. The Athenians, in their present headstrong ungovernable disposition,

tion, and the warm resentment they express against the Lacedæmonians, are not likely to pay much regard to their sacred rights.

I shall take the first opportunity of removing to Athens, whenever it can be done without danger of infection from the plague. In the mean time, illustrious satrap, permit me to return my humblest acknowledgments for the honour of the confidence thou reposest in me; unworthy as I am to partake in the councils of Persia, I will at least make no ill use of those entrusted to my secrecy, but punctually observing the orders I receive, and regulating my own conduct by the rules they prescribe, I will endeavour to supply all deficiencies in knowledge and experience, by the zeal and integrity of my service.

P.

LETTER XXVII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES. *From Salamis.*

I WOULD endeavour, noble satrap, to equal, if not the agreeable and lively style, which embellishes thy letters, at least that judicious choice of materials in them, which joins so artfully instruction to ornament; and I imagine, that a short survey of the present state of Grecian philosophy will not be an unentertaining speculation to one of thy improved and extensive curiosity. Besides the general use of an inquiry, which lays before us a kind of history of human reason, of the discoveries it is capable of making, the exalted heights to which it can attain, and the gradual and regular steps by which it proceeds in the search of useful truth, I please myself with thinking, that a particular advantage, with regard to thee, will attend my discussing this subject. For as *Ægypt* may be called the

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parent

parent soil of science, from whence the Greek philosophers transplanted many doctrines taught in the colleges of the priests, to cultivate them afterwards in their own schools ; it is probable, that a view of the chief tenets maintained in the latter will further thy inquiries into the more mysterious learning of the former, which must reciprocally throw in light upon some obscurities in the conduct and notions of those who, by their long stay in *Ægypt*, received no small tincture of the manners of their instructors. The Greek philosophy is at present divided into two principal sects, the Ionic, which was founded by *THALES* the Milesian, and the Italic, which owes its rise to *PYTHAGORAS*. *THALES* was born in the 35th olympiad, and is remarkable for being the first Grecian who taught a regular system of philosophy, and left a succession of disciples behind him to establish and maintain it. In the earlier part of his life he travelled into *Ægypt*, and during a residence of several years there, applied himself with such genius and industry to the sciences, under the direction of the priests, that he became able at last even to instruct his masters ; and it is said, shewed them how to measure the height of the pyramids. He was afterwards employed in the service of *CROESUS* king of *Lydia* ; and contrived to make the river *Halys* fordable for the army of that prince, by drawing off the water into trenches. On his return to Greece, he lived in a learned retirement, dividing his time between the culture of his favourite studies, geometry and astronomy, and the instruction of his followers, who held him in the utmost veneration. He has left several moral precepts on record ; but is most celebrated for his knowledge of nature. He taught that water was the principle out of which the Supreme Being created all things ; that the universe is filled with invisible spirits, who inspect the actions of men ; that the earth is situated in the middle of the world, and moves round its own centre. He was the first among the Greeks who calculated eclipses of the sun
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and moon, and made observations on the motions of the celestial bodies. It is owing to him, that those wonderful phænomena, which by the ignorant and superstitious are looked upon as omens of approaching calamity, and tokens of the Divine wrath, appear to the philosophic eye as the simple and regular operations of beneficent and various nature; a discovery which alone ought to recommend his name to the esteem of posterity. He died in the ninety-second year of his age, whilst he was present at the Olympic games, and ANAXIMANDER succeeded him in the Ionic school. There is little known of this philosopher, except that in some points he did not adhere to the doctrine of his master; particularly he held, that there was nothing in the universe but an immense matter endowed with an infinite motion; and that in the fruitful bosom of the immense matter, every thing was produced by an eternal revolution of forms. By establishing this system, he excluded, at least tacitly, the existence of a supreme intelligent first cause. ANAXIMENES, his successor, ascribed the origin of all things to the air, and exerted his mechanical skill in the invention of a sun-dial, which was first set up at Lacedæmon, to the no small admiration of that warlike but unpolished people. The school of THALES was transported by ANAXAGORAS from Miletus, where till his time it had flourished, to Athens, as a more conspicuous theatre for his talents to display themselves in. This philosopher was of a noble family in Ionia; but renounced all pretensions to a share in the government of his country, and the inheritance of a considerable estate, in order to apply himself with less interruption to the study of wisdom and the search of truth. Whilst he resided at Athens, he had the honour of reckoning PERICLES amongst his disciples; and it is generally believed, that the statesman owes no small part of his political as well as natural knowledge to the lectures of the speculative sage. The enemies of the former, unable to ruin his credit with the people,
resolved

resolved to attack him in the persons of his friends, and accused ANAXAGORAS of degrading the sun from the number of the gods, by defining it to be a mass of fiery matter. The Athenians, who, by an odd contradiction, express frequently a warm zeal for the honour of their deities, when injured, as they imagine, by the philosophers, though they suffer them to be exposed with the low buffoonery of the comic poets, condemned him to death; but he avoided the sentence, by retiring to Lampsacus, where he died soon after. His disciples erected two altars to his memory, and dedicated the one to the eternal mind, and the other to truth.

ANAXAGORAS always declared himself against the notion of the world's being formed by chance, and attributed the order and life which are observable in it to the direction of an infinitely wise and powerful mind. He held that there is no vacuum in nature; that every body is divisible in infinitum, and composed of little particles of a similar nature, as blood, for instance, of particles of blood, water of particles of water, &c. But I need not tire thy patience, with enlarging further on the lives and tenets of the philosophers of this sect: what I have already said is sufficient to give thee a tolerable idea of them; and thou hast judgment enough to perceive, that many of their opinions, being only founded on the probable assertions of system, instead of proofs drawn from nature herself, must be left for confirmation, or rejection, to the more accurate inquiries of future ages. I shall only add, that the Ionic school under ARCHELAUS, its present chief, has produced a disciple who seems likely to eclipse the fame, not only of his master, but of every philosopher who has yet arisen in Greece. His name is SOCRATES, and he applies himself wholly to the moral part of philosophy, neglecting the natural, as a science too fanciful and uncertain. I must refer thee to another letter for an account of the Italic sect, and of

PYTHAGORAS

PYTHAGORAS its great founder, since this is already swelled to a greater length than I intended it should. If I indulge too far the honour thou hast granted me of thy correspondence, be persuaded, generous ORSAMES, that it is not owing to any impertinent affectation of informing thee, or any want of respect to thy quality, but to that early taste I perceive in thee for useful literature, and my ardent desire to share in that rational plan of education which thou hast laid down, of blending the elegant accomplishments of Grecian arts with the manly severities of the ancient discipline of Persia. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XXVIII.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER. *From Ecbatana.*

THE news of PERICLES's removal from public business gave me no great surprize. I know how precarious great honours are, and wonder most that he has so long maintained an authority, which the envious great and the lawless multitude have agreed to call tyrannical. The Greeks continue to answer the prayer of XERXES, by disgracing the most worthy citizens; and I wish the resentment of PERICLES would throw him into the interests of Persia, where he would be received with no less honour than his great predecessor THEMISTOCLES.

The king sent to intercede with SITALCES, that the Peloponnesian ambassadors might proceed to this court; but they were already delivered up to the Athenians, at the request of his son SADOUS, who has requited, by an act of treachery, the honour they did him last year of making him free of Athens. He may wish hereafter that

so

so trifling a privilege had given place to the opportunity of doing a grateful act to the lord of Asia.

I am under no less apprehension than yourself for the lives of those men, at a time when the states are so exasperated against each other. It might be well to insinuate, that violent measures would confirm ARTAXERXES the enemy of Athens, already sufficiently irritated by their conduct. The ambassadors designed for Persia are indeed Peloponnesians, and they may plead the reasonableness of taking all advantages of an enemy; yet prudence and their misfortunes might teach them that they have no need of a new and more powerful one. At such a juncture, if they had receded a little from their pretensions, the courtesy would not have been misplaced; for we trust that it is already in the hands of our monarch to determine the success to either party, and perhaps to reap the fruit of the war. I wish it were possible thou couldst put on the character of ambassador for one day, and ask the council of Athens, whether they were determined to make ARTAXERXES their foe? Methinks I see them confounded for an answer. Strait a rumour spreads among the populace, that the Persian must be appeased: they assemble in a tumultuous manner, and demand the Peloponnesians of their magistrates, and send them honourably attended to the court of Persia. But I leave it to your discretion to use such means as may seem most effectual to preserve them. Your distance from the city gives me little prospect of success; and I am not such an enemy to Persia, as to think their redemption an equivalent for the hazard of your life. Keep your station. I send you no command from the king, of which he requires a stricter observance, than that you consult your safety. Farewel.

H.

LETTER XXIX.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. *From Thebes.*

HAVING in a former letter mentioned to thee, CLEANDER, the hieroglyphical inscriptions of the famed Hermetic pillars in this country, I will here endeavour to give thee some general idea of the nature and construction of this mystic character. The Egyptians, ever since the age of their renowned HERMES or TAAUTUS, have given much, it is said, into the humour of representing their thoughts to each other in a way of emblem or sensible imagery; a kind of expression, thou wilt observe, which addresses itself to the eyes, instead of the hearing, and which seems indeed to have this advantage, at first thought, of the method of speaking by sounds; that whereas words are merely arbitrary substitutes of the ideas they are used for, the characters of this picture-language have a sort of natural significancy in them, an aptness of themselves to convey their particular meaning. The first principles of the art I am speaking of (which, from being much used in the *sacra* of this country, passes here under the general name of hieroglyphics) are laid in certain observable analogies, relations, or correspondencies of the particular forms, actions, or qualities of animals, to certain facts in nature, morals, or history. From whence it is easy to infer, that the prime elements or radical words, if one may call them so, in this emblematical language, were, as in all other languages, not very numerous; and that the copiousness it is now possessed of has been the work of time and successive improvement: for a foundation once established in some few of the simpler and more obvious analogies above hinted at, the superstructure, thou wilt readily conceive, would

VOL. I.

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be capable of infinite enlargement, as more nice and critical observations in the kind should bring in new materials for this purpose. It has doubtless been with this view, that the Ægyptians have ever been remarkable for bestowing a more than ordinary attention upon the various particularities of their country animals. And the fruit of their application this way abundantly shews itself in that large fund of symbols they have in use, for treating almost every subject one can think of. To signify, for example, the introduction of tillage and agriculture among them by the beneficent OSIRIS, one of their gods, whom they boast to have reigned in this country, they describe an ox's head ; the animal made use of by him, as it has been ever since, in ploughing their lands. When they would represent any person with a numerous offspring, they exhibit the figure of a crocodile ; an animal, it seems, remarkable with them for its prolific and fruitful quality. Thus again, the goat being observed to be a more than ordinary salacious and wanton animal, is for this reason made the Ægyptian emblem of animal generation at large ; as is the hawk and the serpent of the vital principle in animal bodies, from their being themselves supposed to partake, in an eminent degree, of that æther or spirit in which it is imagined life consists. When they would express the moon, they do it under the figure of an ape, which they observe to have a kind of sympathy with this divine luminary ; inasmuch as, at the time of the new moon, the males of this species become blind, refuse their usual food, and shew evident tokens of sorrow for the then total disappearance of the moon's light ; the females, at the same season, besides what happens to them in common with the males, suffering, it is remarked, a periodical infirmity of their own. The same animal is moreover the Ægyptian mark of the two æquinoxes ; it being found at each of these to have a regular discharge of urine once every hour, during the whole four-and-twenty. It were endless to enlarge upon this
article,

article, CLEANDER; and there is the less reason for it, as the particulars I have already mentioned may suffice to answer my intention in this letter. I think it not improbable, that the want of a regular alphabet first introduced this hieroglyphical language into Ægypt. But the priesthood here, who lose no opportunity to give the world an advantageous idea of their own order, have since found it extremely useful, in establishing that high reputation they are in for wisdom of every kind; inasmuch as, being perfect masters of human nature, they have not failed to practise upon that prevailing foible of it, the thinking secrecy a sure token of importance, by contriving this, amongst other methods, to perplex the avenues to that knowledge they are possessed of, in order to raise the idea and enhance the credit of it. Adieu.

O.

LETTER XXX.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

THE court, which of late years has passed its winters at Susa, is now removed to spend this at Babylon; and though the pleasure of seeing so celebrated a city, and enjoying the spacious and well-cultivated country which lies round it, may have induced the king to change, for a time, the usual seat of his residence, yet I believe policy has some part in the resolution. For as Babylon was once the metropolis of a powerful empire, where the court of the Assyrian monarchs was constantly held, it is not without reluctance that the inhabitants submit to a foreign yoke; and from being always honoured with the presence of kings, and graced with privileges, are now burdened with taxes for the support of their conquerors,

and ruled by governors. Our monarch has rendered himself very acceptable here, by remitting part of the tribute, which this province paid to his predecessors, and receiving with the utmost affability the satraps of the country, who came upon his arrival to prostrate themselves at his feet. He has been willing that they should partake of all the diversions of his court, and dismisses none whose merits are conspicuous, without some mark of distinction. Is not a prince worthy to possess the empire of the East, who like him exerts his absolute power for the good of his subjects ; who travels through the different parts of his dominions, not merely to display the magnificence of his court, or to take a view of the outward face of the country, but to redress the complaints of his people, to attach to his interest by personal favours those whom duty has already subjected to his authority, and to learn to know and reward merit, not by the recommendation of his ministers, but by his own observation ? But I must break off this moralizing discourse, which so little befits a courtier ; and to afford thee materials for thy amusement ; as well as reflection, shall relate a surprising adventure which happened a few days ago at the palace. Thou must have heard that ARTABAZUS, the governor of Babylon, was lieutenant to MARDONIUS at the battle of Plataea, and afterwards put himself at the head of the Persian forces who remained, and brought them back to Asia, after a laborious and hazardous march. In the hurry of this confused retreat his wife, who followed him in the expedition, died of fatigue and grief ; and his daughter, then an infant, was carried off by a party of Greeks, who beat up one of his quarters in the night, and was never since heard of. In an entertainment lately performed at the palace a new dance was introduced, in which a beautiful slave of the queen's distinguished herself to the admiration of every body, and put several upon enquiring who she was. She had been bought two days before of a merchant of Cyprus, then at Babylon, who
said

said she was sold to him by an Athenian soldier, who took her prisoner from the Persians not long after the action at Plataea. This being told ARTABAZUS, he sent for the merchant, and upon comparing his account with other circumstances of this unfortunate accident which he recollected himself; upon seeing the rich ornaments which were taken with her, and found to be those with which the infant was adorned at the very time of her being lost; and upon examining the whole affair, the young slave was discovered to be the daughter of ARTABAZUS, sent him, as it were, providentially, for the joy and support of his declining years, and to crown the success which had generally attended him in public, with this last instance of domestic felicity.

The satisfaction arising from this happy event has been heightened by the victory which ARTYPHIUS has gained over the Cadusians. That hardy people having taken a rich booty, were attacked in their retreat, and wholly routed. ARTYPHIUS pursued his advantage, marched his army into their country, and forced them to submit to a tribute, and to deliver up hostages. He is now upon his return, and highly commended for the conduct and valour he has shewn in this expedition. The troops which accompanied him were some of the veterans who had fought under MEGABYZUS in Ægypt. An ambassador is going to the king of the Scythians, to demand satisfaction for the ravages that nation have committed on our frontier provinces; and soon after him DARIUS, the king's third son, will set out for the government of Hyrcania, which is lately bestowed on him. The revolution occasioned in the Athenian affairs by the removal of PERICLES, adds much to the curiosity with which we listen after Grecian news. It is thought surprising, that no action of importance, either by sea or land, has yet happened, though the war has now lasted near two years. Notwithstanding SITALCES has delivered

delivered up the Peloponnesian ambassadors, an agent from Lacedæmon, it is said, will shortly arrive here.

I transmit to thee by this messenger 5000 darics, which MEGABYZUS desires thou wouldst lay out for him in Grecian curiosities. If thou couldst procure him any fine pieces of sculpture, wrought by the hand of PHIDIAS, or some pictures finished by the pencil of ZEUXIS, it would be highly acceptable. When thou hast made these purchases, thou mayst convey them to thy brother at Ephesus, who has it in charge to send them to him. Farewel.

From Babylon.

P.

LETTER XXXI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Salamis.*

OUR expectations, noble scribe, that the lives of the ambassadors would be endangered, have proved too well grounded; and it gives me uneasiness even to relate an action which the Athenians have shewn no regret in committing. The Peloponnesian ambassadors were thrown into prison immediately upon their arrival, and a few days after put to death by a decree of the people, and their bodies cast into pits without the rites of burial; neither could the privileges of their character preserve them from the cruelty of the one, nor the common ties of humanity secure to them the decent ceremony of the other. As an additional circumstance of hardship, I am told, that though they earnestly desired to be heard before sentence was passed, they could not obtain a request never known to be denied to the greatest criminals. The Athenians plead in their excuse, that they only retaliate upon the Lacedæmonians, who acted
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in the same barbarous manner, with regard to some merchants of Athens, whose vessels they seized, trading upon the coast of Peloponnesus. But this will not, in any degree, justify a violation of the sacred rights of public ministers; and I rather take their resentment against the Lacedæmonians, for their late refusal of peace, their hatred of ARISTEUS, for the share he had in the revolt of their towns in Thrace, and perhaps the instigations of those who desire a continuance of the war, to be the true causes of so extraordinary a proceeding. However, I cannot help observing, that while both parties express their enmity to each other, not by fair hostilities, or honourable contentions for the prize of national bravery, but by throwing off the principles of humanity, and committing acts of cruelty against those who are unable to defend themselves; the name of Barbarians, with which they have injuriously branded the rest of mankind; may with much more propriety be retorted on themselves. It was impossible for me, who have no public character, to have used any interest in favour of these miserable men; I should have exposed my own life to the suspicions of the populace, with whom, in their present rage, or rather madness, no persuasions, drawn either from interest or compassion, would have any weight.

The spirits of this people are much elated with the news lately arrived of the surrender of Potidea, which has held out two years, and is now given up to the Athenian generals, on conditions very favourable to the inhabitants, who are permitted to retire with part of their effects to Chalcis. The Athenians blame their generals for granting these terms; and maintain, that want of provisions, and failure of relief, would have forced the place to surrender at discretion. But they certainly acted with judgment; for the army had suffered much, by lying in the field during the inclemencies of a Thracian

Thracian winter, and the expences of the siege amounted already to 2000 talents.

The plague, I hear, daily decreases at Athens, which will give me an opportunity of removing my station, and making inquiries myself on the scene of action, instead of hearkening to the reports of others at a distance from it. I shall there inquire further into the truth of an intelligence I lately received, that the dispositions of the people are very favourable towards PERICLES; and that his friends are in great hopes he will shortly recover his former authority, which, considering the sudden revolutions of popular governments, and the superior talents of PERICLES, would not much surprise me. May the mighty OROMASDES, potent lord, preserve the throne of CYRUS from the rude attacks of an unrestrained multitude, the want of able supporters, and the union of the Greeks!

LETTER XXXII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. *From Thebes in Ægypt.*

AFTER the account which my last letter gave thee, CLEANDER, of the nature and genius of the Ægyptian hieroglyphics, I would in this proceed to consider them in a very remarkable consequence they have had in the religious œconomy of this country; the worship, I mean, which thou hast so often heard is every where paid in it to some or other of its home-bred animals. This is indeed so striking an article among the many national peculiarities of this people, that it would be an unpardonable want of curiosity in a foreigner, not to inquire a little into the reasons upon which it is founded;

founded ; and the state of the case I take in few words to be this : that the several animals now worshipped in *Ægypt*, having been at first applied as parts of a religious language, in the way of emblem, already described to thee, to express the natures and attributes of *Ægyptian* gods, have by time acquired such a degree of sacredness, as to be themselves added to the number of them. The temples here, of which there are great numbers, are all of them furnished with some animal representation ; and the striking magnificence of their outside structure forms, I have often thought, a ridiculous contrast to the contemptible meanness of the sacred inhabitant within ; which is, perhaps, a cat, an ape, or an ibis, the appropriated divinity of the particular pile. The regard paid by the *Ægyptians* to the several species of animals, whose figures constitute this system of religious emblemry, is really incredible but to an eye-witness of it. They have their guardians or attendants appointed them by public authority, who are to provide them their diet and other accommodations ; an office not esteemed unworthy persons of considerable rank, and which, as it is conducted, is in itself a matter of no small expense, as well as delicacy. The executors of this trust are distinguished by certain insignia proper to their order ; and in consequence hereof are entitled to very particular marks of respect and reverence from all, who either with design or by accident come in their way. In some instances, I am told, to have killed one of these consecrated animals, though ever so much by hazard, is capital without remission ; and as often as they die of themselves, either by sickness or old age, the whole provision which is lodged in the house where the death happens, is rendered unlawful to be made use of, and the funeral is performed with much ceremony, and attended with as great appearances of sorrow as we should bestow upon that of our nearest kindred, or most endeared friends. After what I have observed to thee, *CLEANDER*, of the politic vanity of the priesthood

in this country, thou wilt not wonder if some of these consecrations are built upon reasons so abstruse and recondite, as, however they may afford some kind of apology for this practice to the learned, can I am sure, administer none to the vulgar, as lying much out of the reach of common apprehension. And to say the truth, (besides that, as a Persian, I have no great opinion of temples in general, which, whilst they give a splendour and majesty to the outside face of religion, seem to me calculated to sully the inward purity of it, as suggesting too confined an idea of the powers and presence of the gods,) I have still a much greater difficulty with myself to conceive amidst all those refined pretences which are here offered for this emblem worship, that the figure of a cat or an ape can be, in any regard, a fit representative of those adorable and most excellent natures, when, in the judgment of our wise and venerable Magi, not even the human form itself is allowed to be such. Adieu.

O.

L E T T E R XXXIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

IT is with pleasure that I inform thee, noble satrap, of my return to Athens, where the plague is almost entirely ceased, though the ravages it has made, the desolation it has caused in the most considerable families, and the weak and dispirited turn it has given to the affairs of this state in general, will be felt long after all symptoms of infection have disappeared.

A very extraordinary event just preceded my arrival, the restoration of PERICLES to his former authority. Shall I say the people have

have shewn their good sense, or their folly, by their conduct with regard to him? the one in placing him at the helm when conjunctures of difficulty and distress require a minister of experience and abilities; the other, by permitting their natural fickleness to appear so strongly by such a total change of their sentiments, as now to reverence him as their protector and leader, whom, but a few months ago, they gave up with ignominy to the accusations of his enemies, and thought guilty of the highest misdemeanors.

PERICLES appeared wholly engaged in the domestic concerns of a private life, and was in the height of his grief for the loss of PARALUS, the last of his legitimate children, when they invited him to accept his former office of general. ALCIBIADES and his other friends, whose intrigues contributed not a little to this sudden revolution, persuaded him to come abroad and shew himself to the people. They received him with great marks of affection and esteem, and at their request he has resumed the administration of their affairs. His power is already so firmly established, that he has procured the abrogation of a law he was himself the author of, which enacted, that none were to be deemed citizens of Athens, but those whose father and mother were both Athenians. At the time it passed, five thousand Athenians lost their liberty for want of the qualification which it required, and were sold for slaves. The only intent of its present repeal is, that he may be allowed to enroll his natural son in the register of his tribe by his own name. Thus has PERICLES triumphed over the short-lived insults of his enemies; and not only fixed the natural inconstancy of the Athenians in his favour, but even risen from his fall with redoubled vigour; a circumstance in which, either through his superior fortune or superior address, he is yet unrivalled by the greatest of his predecessors, who have conducted the counsels of this republic. Thou mayest easily
p 2 imagine,

imagine, potent minister, that my desire to use every method that could possibly promote the service of ARTAXERXES, and a curiosity very natural in such cases to be known to so eminent a person, would induce me to omit no opportunity of being introduced to PERICLES. My patron and friend PHILEMON, who, from his long experience in business, and his singular humanity, has acquired the veneration and love of the whole city, and particularly of PERICLES, though he has sometimes opposed his measures, has done me that kind office. I was presented to him as a native of Ephesus, who having travelled over a great part of the East, and acquired some knowledge of its customs and policies, and some taste also for Grecian literature, was desirous to spend the remainder of my life under the mild and just government of Athens. PERICLES received me with his usual affability; and asked me whether I exercised any employment here? I told him (what I always answer to such a question) that my brother, who was a merchant of Ephesus, and had great correspondence at Athens, transacted much of his business through my hands, but that the chief reason of my settling in this place was to enjoy the happiness of obeying the excellent laws of so wise a state, and to converse with the inhabitants of a city the most famed in Greece for learning and politeness. He seemed pleased with my answer, and inquired into several particulars relating to the manners of Asia, the strength and riches of Persia, and the characters of the ministers of the sublime court. I found him no stranger to the shining qualities of our monarch, or the great talents of MEGABYZUS, and thyself. I am not without hopes that my being admitted into the acquaintance of PERICLES may furnish me with opportunities of acquiring a still further knowledge of his character, designs, and the maxims of his politics. Preparations are going on here for the next year's campaign; twenty galleys are ready to sail to Naupactus, which is a port very advantageously situated for interrupting the Corinthian navigation,

vigation, and observing the motions of their fleet. The admiral, whose name is PHORMIO, is in such repute for his valour and conduct, that the public chose to pay his debts out of the treasury, rather than be deprived of his service. And here it may not be improper to lay before thee a short account of the method used at Athens in setting forth their naval equipments. It is something particular, and will give thee an idea of the military regulations of this people, as thou hast already had of their civil. The expences of these preparations are not laid upon the people in general, but discharged by a class of the richest citizens, taken out of every tribe: Sixteen are allotted to fit out each trirem. Any citizen, who is elected trierarch, or commander of a galley, is obliged to accept the office, unless he can produce another citizen richer than himself. The former must likewise propose to change estates with the other, who is forced to accept the proposal, under the penalty of fitting out the galley himself. Thou mayest easily imagine that this law (to which the poorer sort, who are always the bulk of a nation, are strongly attached) gives occasion to frequent contests, delays, and evasions; and before they can be accommodated, the season for action is sometimes lost. Far different are the awful mandates of the great king, which are no sooner designed, than executed with the utmost vigour. They are swift and irresistible, like the piercing lightning shot from the hand of OROMASDES: Asia trembles at them, and confesses its lawful sovereign.

From Athens.

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LETTER XXXIV.

CLEANDER to OTANES.

SHORTLY after my arrival and settlement in this city, I gave thee, potent lord, an account of its extent and magnificence in general. Having since had opportunity of surveying its parts more exactly, I proceed now to give thee a fuller and more particular description of them; and in doing this I shall chuse to begin, where a stranger most naturally would, at the place of his landing, the port. This indeed consists of two parts, the Piræus and Phalerus, which together are the great emporium of trade, and the magazine of all their naval stores. Not that even these are without their ornaments; for in this we meet with the several temples of JUPITER, MINERVA, and CERES, and altars to the UNKNOWN GODS, a remarkable instance of the great superstition, and, at the same time, the little foundation there is for it among this people. In the other, besides several temples, there is a very neat portico, in which is a picture of THEMISTOCLES, by whose advice this port was converted from a court of judicature to what it now is, and near to it his sepulchre also; his citizens being willing to allow him a place among them when dead, which they refused him while alive, though whether he is really interred here or no is very uncertain. In the passage from hence towards the city are one or two porticos, though of no great name, till you come to the Ceramicus, a quarter so called from a hero of that name, as some say, though others give it a much less noble derivation; and in this are an infinite number of temples, theatres, porticos, and statues. Of the temples, the most remarkable is that sacred to JUPITER THE DELIVERER, and
built

built upon the expulsion of the Persians; and close by it is a noble portico, in which are painted the twelve superior deities, as they are called here, and a figure of THESEUS, together with a representation of that form of government which prevails here, *viz.* democracy, consisting of a number of smaller figures so disposed as to form one uniform body, adorned with a crown and other ensigns of authority. Near this a very fine statue of APOLLO ALEXIKAKOS is just now erecting, as a token of their gratitude to him, for having freed them from the late terrible pestilence. At some distance from hence is the court, where the great council of five hundred assemble, which is very properly adorned with the representation of JUPITER THE COUNSELLOR; and on one hand of this, another figure of the collective body of the people; on the other, the venerable portraits of DRACO, SOLON, and their legislators, than which nothing can be more august, especially as they are finished by the masterly hand of TIMANTHUS. Near this is a vast collection of statues, some of their gods, others of their old kings and heroes; and yet numerous as they are, they aver, that they are now far short of what they were before the sacking of the city by XERXES, who destroyed or carried away most of the best. It is in this quarter that one of the greatest curiosities in the city is found; namely, a copious spring of fresh water, which is the only one in it; and close by it is a temple, dedicated to the Eleusinian CERES, too sacred to be approached by any, but those who have been initiated into her venerable mysteries; so I can give no account of what it contains. Before it stands an ox very finely carved, and the statue of a man called EPIMENIDES, whom they report to have slept forty years together in a cave, and at the end of that term to have appeared, to the infinite amazement of himself as well as friends. Near it is a statue of the heavenly VENUS done by PHIDIAS, in so exquisite a manner and taste, that it may serve to convince posterity of the happy genius of this great master,

master, and be an inimitable specimen of the productions and workmanship of this age.

A little above the Ceramicus is the famous Portico called Pœcile, from the variety of admirable paintings with which it is adorned. It is here that some of the greatest masters in this art have employed all their skill; the subjects, as well as the finishing of them, having given a fine opportunity of shewing the extent of it. In the middle is the battle of THESEUS with the AMAZONS; on one side the burning of Troy, with the portraits of their chief leaders in that famous expedition; and on the other, a large and full representation of the battle of Marathon, so fatal to the Persian power, and so glorious to this city. In this thou wilt imagine the painter would omit no circumstance of doing honour to his country, or discredit to ours: the rout of our monarch's troops is too well and too lively expressed not to raise the utmost concern and indignation in the faithful CLEANDER's breast; and though I am tempted by the fineness of the performance to speak of it more fully, as well as I was to survey it more closely, yet I forbear to dwell upon a subject that must be equally disagreeable to us both. Before it stands a group of statues of their chief leaders and lawgivers; among whom SOLON, as he deserves, is in a more eminent and distinguished place; and at a little distance, my old friend PHILEMON pointed to an altar, which he said was the only one in all Greece dedicated to Compassion; insinuating, like a true Athenian, the peculiar humanity on which they so much value themselves. Near this (besides the famous temple of THESEUS, CASTOR, &c. which I mentioned in my last) is the court called Prytaneum, where the original laws of SOLON are deposited, and kept with the utmost care; and a temple so ancient as to boast of DEUCALION, the great restorer of mankind, as they say, after a deluge, for its founder. Not far from hence is
a part

a part of the city called the Gardens ; and a street named the Tripods, where are two fine temples, one of *BACCHUS*, the other of *ÆSCULAPIUS*, both remarkable for several exquisite paintings, representing the extraordinary actions of the one, and cures of the other. From hence lies the ascent, by marble steps, to the citadel or upper city, of which, and the famous Parthenion in it, I gave some description in my former letter ; and to give a minute and full one would exceed the limits of this. The great number of temples, and the still greater of statues and pictures, are not to be conceived : those of *MINERVA*, as being the guardian and protectress of the city, strike the eye in every part of it, but here in a particular manner. Here the contest between her and *NEPTUNE* is set forth in more than one place ; and it is here that a statue of her in brass, formed out of the spoils taken at Marathon, is placed, of so stupendous a size, as to be a mark for ships sailing at a great distance. Beside these appropriated to the gods and heroes, I should inform thee, that there are several other public buildings, designed for places of exercise and entertainment. Their theatres in particular grow daily more and more splendid, and their gymnasia are built with so much grandeur and magnificence, as to appear almost like towns. And a little way from the city is another Ceramicus, designed and set apart for the burying-place of all those who have done service to their country by their lives, or honour to it by their deaths ; near which is an enclosure and plantation called the Academy, to which the philosophers and men of letters (here a large tribe) daily resort, and entertain themselves or their disciples with disquisitions and debates upon all points of science. In a word, it were endless to recite all the structures and curiosities with which this city abounds ; and yet amidst all this pomp, and among the infinite number of buildings, it may seem wonderful, that there are none but what are in

honour to their gods and benefactors, or for public use. They are as frugal in what are designed for their own service, as they are expensive in these. They build for the credit of public, and not for private luxury; and if immortal natures could receive any satisfaction from the beauty and grandeur of the structures dedicated to them, Athens would be no less the habitation of the gods, than they boast it to be of humanity and politeness. Adieu.

R.

LETTER XXXV.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS.

I HAVE made it my business, sage lord, to inquire into the lives and characters of such Athenians, whether living or dead, as are most remarkable for the services they have done their own country, or the mischiefs they have done ours; and send thee some commentaries of them inclosed. In perusing these, thou wilt soon be convinced that it was not chance or ill-fortune which the Persians are to blame for their defeats; when thou shalt learn, and by so many instances be convinced of the resolute but cool courage of MILTIADES, the steady inflexible integrity of ARISTIDES, the engaging virtues and humane deportment of CIMON; (I mention not THEMISTOCLES, as thou wert no stranger to his abilities while in the service of our great monarch;) when thou shalt consider the great and elevated soul of PERICLES, directing all his care and thought, his whole life and fortune, to the service of his country, impatient indeed of rivals, not because he fears their eclipsing him, but that, conscious of his own sufficiency and upright intentions, he is unwilling to have any obstacles

obstacles to controul him in his great designs : I say when thou shalt consider all these circumstances, thou wilt be no longer surprised that under such powerful conductors, so small a state should have so long withstood and baffled the repeated attacks of the most formidable empire in the world. Nay, were it not for the counterpoise that these heroes have in the perverseness and folly, the fickleness and resentment of those with whom they have to do, I should not be without apprehension, that danger might approach even the throne of CYRUS. May the GREEKS continue to fight our battles by their unseasonable dissensions ; and while they have their CLEONS and their TOLMIDES's, the designs of even a PERICLES must ever prove as abortive as they lately did, when he convened all the states of Greece, and employed the utmost power of his eloquence, to engage them in a league against the great king, but to no purpose. But here I pause, and my soul even shudders, while I recite to thee a particular concerning THEMISTOCLES, little known, and therefore not inserted among the relations which I send thee. It seems, that shortly after obtaining that fatal victory over the Persians, (when the presence of XERXES added to his disgrace,) in conjunction with, and by the assistance of the confederated fleet of all their allies, he made a proposal to ARISTIDES, (who was commissioned by the city to receive and judge of it privately,) to fall on and destroy that very fleet, in order to render Athens absolute at sea. ARISTIDES reported, that nothing indeed could be more advantageous to, or more promote the power of the commonwealth, than THEMISTOCLES's proposal; but withal, that it would be the most unjust thing in the world to execute it. On this it was dropped, and THEMISTOCLES's friends say, that it was a high love and regard for his country, which alone put him on a design, which his soul otherwise would have abhorred. But can a love of one's

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country,

country, or any other consideration, excuse such horrible perfidy? No, potent satrap, we are no longer men, when we shake off the common principles of humanity; such desperate designs speak a mind not to be controuled by any faith or by any ties; and he who could so basely think of sacrificing his friends and allies to his country, would not scruple to sacrifice even that country to his own interest or resentments. Adieu.

From Athens.

R.

End of the second Year of the Peloponnesian War.

A. M. 3575. Fourth Year of the 87th Olympiad.

The third Year of the Peloponnesian War.

LETTER XXXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

THE danger which threatens Athens makes its approaches by slow but sure steps. The Peloponnesians have made no incursion upon the territory of Attica; they seem bent upon reducing such cities as are allied to their enemies, whereby they may be secured from their annoyance, and have a safe retreat even in an adversary's country: they are now set down before Plataea, a city in firm alliance with this state. ARCHIDAMUS the Lacedæmonian king, upon advancing toward the city, was addressed by deputation from the Plataeans, who remonstrated to him how unjustifiable the hostilities were which he was preparing, since the liberty and privileges of that city were conferred upon it by the unanimous voice of Greece, for their gallant behaviour in the Persian war, and were in a particular manner confirmed by PAUSANIAS, the Lacedæmonian general, with a promise of inviolable security. ARCHIDAMUS made answer, that he had no objection to their pretensions, provided they would join in rescuing that common liberty from the tyranny of Athens, which they had so bravely defended against the arms of Persia; or at least, that they would be neutral as to all hostilities,
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and give them the same amicable reception they would the Athenians; or if they pleased, they might intrust him with the possession of their city, which he would preserve from the least damage, and restore to them, with all its properties and immunities, at the conclusion of the war; and in the mean time, would contribute what might be sufficient for their subsistence. Answer was made to these proposals, that they could not possibly yield to them, without acquainting the Athenians, who had their wives and children within their walls; and desired a truce of three or four days for this purpose, which was accordingly allowed. The Platæan deputies were received here with expressions of the highest respect and affection, and assurance of fidelity to their engagements on the side of Athens, and were sent back to the city with earnest exhortations that no concessions might be made to their common enemy; which so far prevailed upon the Platæans, that they resolved to answer them only from the walls.

Upon perceiving this, ARCHIDAMUS, (as though it were impious to assault a city yet under the protection of its gods,) after invoking the tutelar deity and guardian powers of Platæa to witness the justice of his whole conduct in the amicable terms he had offered, and the just vengeance he was going to execute for their refusal, blocked up the city. The several assaults he has made, though maintained with the utmost bravery, have proved unsuccessful against the stratagems or resolution with which the Platæans either evade or repulse them; so that the event of this siege must be the subject of another letter.

If the Peloponnesians have been hitherto unsuccessful at Platæa, the Athenians have been more so in an expedition lately made by their army in Thrace. Two thousand heavy-armed men and two hundred

dred horse were sent against the Chalcidians, under the joint command of three officers, XENOPHON and two others. Upon their arrival near Spartolum (a town of the enemy's) they found a faction within the walls ready to surrender and receive them as friends, but were opposed by a contrary party, who had in the interim sent to beg succour of the Olynthians, which accordingly came and engaged the Athenians near Spartolum. The Chalcidian and auxiliary heavy-armed soldiers were worsted, and fled into the town; but in another part of the action, their horse and light-armed men routed those of the Athenians. A reserve in the town, being reinforced by another small party from the Olynthians, made a fresh attack upon the Athenians; upon which they retreated to their baggage, and joined two companies left there. From hence they annoyed the enemy with their missive weapons, who gave ground, and the Athenians advanced forward, and they continued to retire. The Athenians, through the warmth of pursuit, being drawn out into an inconvenient situation, the Chalcidian horse attacked them, broke their ranks, and put them to flight. The three commanding officers and considerable part of the men are cut off, and the remnant of the defeated army took refuge in Pontidæa. I have sent thee this short account of the engagement, as it is brought by an express just arrived from Thrace, not doubting but thou wilt have a more particular one by a nearer conveyance.

Thus do the foes of Persia continue to waste each other, and prevent, by their own animosities, that vengeance which they have reason to dread from thy councils and the arms of ARTAXERXES. I know not whether the shame and loss of this defeat will so much affect the minds of this people, as another loss they are like to sustain; I mean that of PERICLES himself, whose health sensibly decays, which, I am persuaded, ought to be more dear to them than
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the lives of thousands. The plague, which raged here so lately amongst all the ranks of men, spared not PERICLES; that active minister struggled with his distemper, without remitting any thing of his concern for the public. But, alas! how could a frail distempered body keep pace with such a soul? its efforts are too strong for the bands which united it; like a fierce lion in the toils, whose activity is restrained, it has almost burst through its confinement, and will soon leave its unworthy concomitant, and fly to the abodes which are allotted to those who have spent a life of toil and danger in the service of their country.

From Athens.

LETTER XXXVII.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

* **T**HOUGH thou art by extraction a Greek, yet I no more suspect thy attachment to the religion, than our generous monarch does thy fidelity to the government of Persia. I know thou must alike disapprove the unsteadiness of thy country's polity and philosophy. The scruples thou hast imparted to me I receive as an instance of tenderness to our faith, which you wish to see purged of all doubts. But this cannot be, CLEANDER; the origin, power, and dealings of ARIMANIUS with the sons of men are mysterious and unaccountable; they puzzle the ablest speculatist with gloomy apprehensions and inexplicable difficulties; while the contemplation of OROMASDES refreshes the soul with agreeable truths, and branches out into innumerable paths of delightful knowledge. Wonder not

* Vide Letter XX.

at this, and expect not to have all thy doubts removed concerning the nature of that evil one, whose best emblem is darkness; rather withdraw thy attention, and place it where it may ever be employed with delight and satisfaction. How sweet is the view of an expanded lawn, or the azure field of heaven, after the eye has been fatigued with prying into a difficult scheme, or narrowly viewing some complex piece of machinery? Such is the refreshment the soul feels, when it turns from ARIMANIUS to beloved YESDAN*, from confusion to order, from discord to peace, from the author of ill to the ever-beauteous source of all good. I am unwilling to blame thy anxiety for man; yet thy knowledge of our holy prophet makes it blameable: he, one would think, should have dispersed the cloud that hung over us, when he debased the enemy of our nature, the vile ARIMANIUS, who aspired to equal the highest, and had infused an opinion of his equality into the minds of deluded mortals. The enlightened sage was conscious of his usurpation; he questioned his sovereignty, he dethroned the impostor, and pronounced him impotent. From that hour a sweet serenity possessed the heart of true believers; an inestimable solace from the assurance that we are altogether in the hands of benign YESDAN; a consolation envied us by cursed AHRIMAN, which even now he labours to subvert, and leave thy bosom destitute of peace. But let not the dignity of OROMASDES suffer in thy opinion, who can as arbitrarily dispose of ARIMANIUS, as of the meanest of his creatures; and will not fail to plunge him in everlasting misery, for his rebellious attempts to withdraw his adorers, when all the evil he delights in, and is permitted to exercise, will prey upon himself. These are truths, CLEANDER, taught by the wisdom of ZERDUSHT, and are a purer emblem of the divinity, than the holy flame deposited in the temple of BALCH.

* YESDAN and AHRIMAN are two different names for OROMASDES and ARIMANIUS.

Rest secure, that mankind, whom thou hast such a tender regard for, will find justice; every action will be weighed in the balance of those angels, who guard that bridge which all mortals must pass. Our own deeds will determine our happiness, or doom us to the kingdom of **AHRIMAN**. What! sayest thou, shall the wicked **AHRIMAN** be permitted to punish those whom he has seduced? Doubt it not, **CLEANDER**; they who listened to his suggestions, will have their lot with him. To inflict ill is an imperfection: the great **OROMASDES** cannot do it; those therefore whose lives call for punishment, are assigned over to that being, who is the parent of all ill. **OROMASDES** only draws his protection from the unhappy wretches, and **ARIMANIUS** strait perceives that his dominion is enlarged; he takes possession of them, as quickly as darkness takes the place of light, when the lovely **MITHRAS** sinks beneath the western mountains.

Is it not enough that we know **AHRIMAN** is our foe? that he triumphs in our weakness? Is not this all the knowledge of him that is useful to us? Must we also inquire into his origin, and the reason of his power? Shall we not trust the counsels of Heaven, unless we be made privy to them; which, like a dazzling beam of light upon the feeble eye-ball, would confound instead of enlightening the human mind? When we make any real progress in science how slow and short are our steps? Yet we suffer ourselves to grasp at immensity, to stretch the imagination beyond the limits of time, and inquire into the nature of eternity, whether good and evil be of equal duration, and whether in consequence their power must be the same; whether if **AHRIMAN** had a beginning, he can without impiety be numbered amongst the works of **OROMASDES**; or whether the elements (from whence the frame of nature was called forth by the voice of **OROMASDES**) are not of a generative power,
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and in the confusion of chaos in their utmost discord, during their most impure mixture and defilement, produced this evil one. A thousand volumes have been employed on these subjects without success ; for some truths can never be disclosed, because Providence has purposely thrown a veil over them. AHRIMAN cannot, say the learned, be part of the creation, because he partakes nothing of the divine original. It is most certain, that hateful and malignant being, so repugnant to the deity in his will and actions, could not receive so detestable a form of nature from so pure a cause. It is not long since (as thou knowest) the thrice venerable OSTANES dwelt amongst us, whose wisdom, as grateful as a refreshing dew to the parched earth, sunk into the bosom of his thirsty hearers. He was deeply skilled in the invariable laws of nature, and judged soberly of the motives of Providence itself. He would often say, the elements, and whatever is merely of their composition, have the arbitrary will of YESDAN as a law ; they are governed by necessity, and know no choice. Where God has given reason, he has made the actions of that being free, and the result of reason ; man therefore is free, and the most exalted heavenly spirits are free as man, and may choose amiss like him, until by a steady perseverance in right they render themselves habitually good, and make a nearer approach to their Maker, who cannot do ill. Such a one as those I can suppose the cursed AHRIMAN once to have been, a refined spirit full of excellence and beauty, when he arose from the creating hand of OROMASDES, fit to preside over and regulate the frame of nature, and perhaps employed in that glorious service, happy in the powers of his nature, in his eminence of station, and the contemplation of his immortality. I can conceive him venturing even to doubt, whether there be a power sufficient to dissolve an immortal spirit like himself, which brought into being seemed to have an

independent title to eternity and happiness,) and to misapply reasons till he had engaged himself in a thought of revolting from God, and (which he still so industriously aims at) of retaining in the worship of himself alone that part of the universe which he superintended. The Almighty would not counteract his own wise decree; he would not interfere with freedom, which his all-seeing eye then perceived to be abused: but from that moment he withdrew his cherishing influence from the apostate spirit, who was as it were expelled that presence which gladdens the universe. Immediately he shed all his excellence; his comeliness fell from him, and he abhorred his own deformities, but much more all that was fair and good, which could upbraid him with the glory he had forfeited, and his present execrable lot. The wicked conceptions he had indulged himself in were now unrestrained, and the sole good he could propose was the gratification of himself in ill.

Mayst thou, CLEANDER, find arguments herein to appease thy doubts, and justify to thyself the ways of Providence, so as to look with indifference on the dangers to which the nature of thy employment subjects thee; and if they should take hold of thee, to bear thy fate with less concern than we, who know thee, must bear the report. Adieu

From Balch in Bactria.

H.

LETTER XXXVIII.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

I HAVE now found leisure, noble ORSAMES, to complete my design of giving thee a cursory view of the present state of philosophy in Greece; and however imperfect the execution of it proves, let me venture to hope, that by taking my share in this literary correspondence, I make the most suitable return to the letters thou hast lately favoured me with, on the hieroglyphical learning of the Ægyptians; a subject on which, it might be easily imagined, that the acuteness of thy judgment, and the elegance of thy style, would both display themselves to advantage.

In our philosophical progress we have already gone through the sect of THALES, and are next to pass through that of PYTHAGORAS. This celebrated philosopher, born in the fourth year of the 43d olympiad, was (according to the general opinion) the son of a sculptor at Samos; but the meanness of his parentage did not hinder him from being educated under one of the greatest men of his time, PHERECYDES of Syrus, who first taught the immortality of the soul. Upon his death, PYTHAGORAS determined to trace science as it were up to its fountain-head, and to supply himself with fresh stores of it in those parts of the world where it seems to have arisen. Animated by this desire of knowledge, he submitted to that tedious and discouraging course of preparatory discipline, which is necessary to obtain the benefit of Ægyptian initiation. When he had made himself a thorough master of the sciences, which are cultivated in the sacerdotal colleges of Thebes and Memphis, he pursued his travels
through

through the East, conversing with the Magi and Indian Brachmans, and mixing their doctrines with those he had learnt in Ægypt. He afterwards studied the laws of MINOS at Crete, and those of LYCURGUS at Sparta. Having spent the earlier part of his life in this useful manner, it is no wonder if he returned to Samos well acquainted with every thing curious, either in nature or art, in foreign countries, improved with all the advantages proceeding from a regular and laborious course of learned education, and adorned likewise with that knowledge of mankind which is necessary to gain the ascendant over them. PYTHAGORAS, accustomed to freedom, disliked the arbitrary government of POLYCRATES, then tyrant of SAMOS, and retired to Crotona in Italy, where he opened a school of philosophy; and by the gravity and sanctity of his manners, the importance of his tenets, and the peculiarity of his institutions, soon spread his fame and influence over Italy and Greece. Among other projects which he used to create respect and gain credit to his assertion, he concealed himself in a cave, and caused it to be reported that he was dead; then after some time he came abroad, and pretended that the intelligence which his friends gave him in his retreat, of the transactions of Crotona, was collected during his stay in the other world among the shades of the departed. He formed the disciples, who came from all parts to put themselves under his direction, into a kind of republic, where none were admitted till a severe probation had sufficiently exercised their patience and docility. He afterwards divided them into the esoteric and exoteric classes: to the former he entrusted the more sublime and secret doctrines, to the latter the more simple and popular. This great man found himself able to unite the character of the legislator to that of the philosopher, and to rival LYCURGUS and ORPHEUS in the one, PHERECYDES and THALES in the other; following, in this particular, the patterns set him by the Ægyptian priests, his instructors, who are not

not less celebrated for settling the civil than the religious œconomy of their nation. In imitation of them, PYTHAGORAS gave laws to the republic of Crotona, and brought the inhabitants from a state of luxury and dissoluteness, to be eminent for order and sobriety. Whilst he lived, he was frequently consulted by the neighbouring republics, as the composer of their differences, and the reformer of their manners; and since his death (which happened about the fourth year of the 70th olympiad, in a tumult raised against him by one CYLOX) the administration of their affairs has generally been intrusted to some of his disciples, amongst whom, to produce the authority of their master for any assertion, is sufficient to establish the truth of it without further inquiry. The most celebrated of the philosophical notions of PYTHAGORAS are those concerning the nature of the Deity, the transmigration of souls into different bodies, (which he borrowed from the Brachmans,) and the system of the world. As to the former, he held that God was diffused through all parts of the universe, like a kind of universal soul, pervading every particle of matter, and animating every living creature, from the most contemptible reptile to mankind themselves, who share a larger portion of the divine spirit. The metempsychosis was founded on this maxim, that as the soul was of cœlestial origin, it could not be annihilated, and therefore, upon abandoning one body, necessarily removed into another; and frequently did penance for its former vicious inclinations, in the shape of a beast or an insect, before it appeared again in that of a human creature. He pretended that he had a particular faculty given him by the gods, of remembering the various bodies his own soul had passed through, and confounded cavillers by referring them to his own experience. In his system of the world, the third doctrine which distinguishes his sect, was a supposition that the sun was at rest in the centre, and that the earth, the moon, and the other planets moved round it in different orbits.

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He pretended to have great skill in the mysterious properties of numbers, and held that some particular ones contained a peculiar force and significance ; but whether these were his own whimsical fancies, or the refinements of his followers, I know not. It is certain he was a great geometrician, and investigated a famous problem, which goes by his name ; nor was he less skilled in the knowledge of nature, though I give no credit to the miraculous secrets he is supposed to be master of, neither will I tire thee by mentioning such idle fables. This remarkable circumstance may serve to conclude my account of him, that he was the first who called himself by the modest title *Philosopher*, a lover of wisdom only ; whereas the sages, his predecessors, styled themselves *Sophoi*, the wise, arrogantly assuming a name, which the voice of mankind alone has a right to bestow, and supposing they possessed what most of them all their lives pursued without obtaining.

There are few particulars known concerning ARISTÆUS, who succeeded him in the Italic School, or MNEMARCHUS his son, who had next the honour to be advanced to his father's place. EMPEDOCLES of Agrigentum is at present the most celebrated philosopher of this sect : there are several wonderful stories told of him. He seems, like PYTHAGORAS, to be an able naturalist, exalted into a magician by the ignorant and superstitious. According to him, the four elements are the first principles of all things, which continue in a perpetual flux and agitation, occasioned by two different qualities, an uniting and a separating one, which, as they prevail, vary the productions and effects of nature. DEMOCRITUS of Abdera (with whom I will conclude this account of the Greek philosophy) has made himself famous, by maintaining the atomical system ; of which I shall only say, that it excludes the existence of a Deity, and ascribes the formation of the world to the fortuitous concourse of unperishable

able atoms endowed with motion. The strange humour and temper of the man is not unsuitable to so strange a doctrine; he finds occasion for laughter in every incident of human life; a funeral or a triumph, an assembly of senators or a company of fools contribute equally to his mirth; just the contrary character to HERACLITUS of Ephesus, who finds occasion for tears in the same actions which excite laughter in the other. These are the chief systems of philosophy prevailing at present in Greece; and the professors of them, while they outwardly conform to the religion of the country, are not only tolerated, but meet with public honours and encouragement. Thou mayest easily judge from the differences, which are allowed in the most important points, as the nature of the gods, the immortality of the soul, and a future state, that the religion of the Greeks consists rather in a variety of ceremonies and rites, adapted to the particular powers and attributes of their local deities, than in points of belief, and established doctrines in theological matters. Thou wilt likewise observe, on what unstable foundations the knowledge of nature is at present built, whilst every sect frames a peculiar hypothesis, (which has no relation, either in the general principles, or particular branches of it, to any of the rest,) and then endeavours to balance the want of reasons by the weight of numbers; as if the only point to be considered was, how to perplex mankind by the variety of opposite tenets, instead of enlightening their understandings; to overbear them by positive assertions, instead of convincing them by solid arguments. 'Till those happy times shall come, when nature may perhaps deign to unfold her secrets to the searches of inquisitive mortals, let us be contented to gratify our curiosity in these speculations, without expecting from them much real improvement in science. Farewel.

P.

LETTER XXXIX.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

IT was not without reason, my HYDASPES, that when I promised thee an account of the Grecian poets and historians, I began with the characters of the former; since it is certainly true, (though it may seem a kind of paradox to say it,) that poetical fiction was universally received in the world before historical certainty. Hence is it, that fable has usurped the place of truth, and, except tradition, we have scarcely a guide to conduct us in our searches through the darker and more mysterious ages of antiquity. The Grecian history is an eminent proof of this remark, since the earliest æra of it is very differently stated by the different authors who have written upon it. Some say, there is nothing certain before the Trojan war; and that no compiler appeared, who was held in any degree of reputation, till above 500 years after it. Others there are, who date from the beginning of the olympiads; and many believe that period in the annals of time, which is ennobled by the reign of our great Cyrus the first, whose authority may be relied on. If thou shouldst suggest to thyself, that perhaps the writers I am now speaking of, lay no sort of weight upon the credit of the oldest traditions, give me leave to add, that several have exposed themselves to the justest censure by falling into the contrary extreme. Such as they who, studious of, shewing their regard to the ancient reformers, deliverers, or benefactors of mankind, have overheated their imagination, quitted the common theatre of life, and soaring beyond the bounds of human probability, have lost themselves in those clouds to which they have exalted their heroes. I shall not pretend to determine which of these are in the right;

right ; whether the latter, for fear of neglecting some historical facts, have not expressed too much dependence on the authority of the poets and tradition ; or whether the former, for fear of giving into fiction and rhapsody, have not unreasonably despised the authority of both. But this we may venture to pronounce, that in all the accounts which have been given us of the first times, it is out of the power of any one to decide where the fable concludes, or the truth begins.

I must own to thee, *HYDASPES*, I have often endeavoured to trace, in speculation, the cause of that error and confusion which prevails among the precarious traditions of the Greek antiquity : and though the search has too commonly ended in refinement, yet the very mention of it at present invites me to put down those conjectures in writing, which have long exercised my thoughts in private.

In former ages, the Grecians are represented as savage and illiterate, possessed of no public annals or records, which alone can ascertain the truth of historical facts, relying barely on traditional relations, unpractised in all the necessary arts of life and government. After some centuries, it appears, that they received the culture of humanity from Phœnician and *Ægyptian* colonies ; by the first of whom they were instructed in trade, navigation, and the use of letters ; by the last, they were initiated into civil wisdom, the politer sciences, and religious mysteries. Thou knowest, that the abstrusest and most excellent part of the *Ægyptian* learning is allegorical ; and it is generally believed, that many of their emblematical fables were transplanted into Greece, and embraced with a superstitious regard by the ignorant multitude. The design of these allegories is, to conceal the important doctrines of religion from vulgar apprehension ;

and most of them bear a beautiful resemblance to divers actions in history, or appearances in morals or in nature. Hence arose the number of monstrous stories concerning their deities and heroes, which the primitive Greek sages (some of whom were informed in these points by the Egyptians, who had settled among them, and others had travelled to the very colleges of the priests for information) understood and explained to their scholars. But when these stories fell afterwards into the hands of fanciful men, many new ones were added to the old, which defaced the beauty of the allusions, and the allegorical sense being perverted or forgotten, the literal alone remains. Thus the shadow is preserved instead of the substance; historical certainty has been lost amidst these emblematical fables, and the first inventors of allegory have vitiated and corrupted that truth, which they only intended to disguise. In a word, the mythology of the Greeks is intermingled with their history, and is one principal cause of its uncertainty.

It has already been insinuated, that the ancient Greeks transmitted no original annals or records to posterity, on which it were possible to ground an history of the early ages: but may I not be permitted to suppose, that had any genuine records of a nation, so long uncultivated as the Grecian, escaped out of the ruins of barbarous antiquity, they would have proved too jejune and uninteresting to afford good materials for an history? For indeed what could be expected from a country, one while overrun with spoil and rapine, where the inhabitants pursued no uniform method of life, continually wandering and unfixed, like a lawless rout of savages? Or what could be expected from a people, another while employed in the lingering work of reformation, endeavouring to lay aside the rudeness of the manners, and to exert, though faintly, the rational faculties of their nature? Nothing, that would not have been unworthy

thy the notice of future generations, and beneath the dignity of history to dwell upon. In order therefore to compensate for this defect, the historians, as well as rhapsodists, in treating of those ages, have been obliged to make up in fiction, what they wanted in reality; and the first times are rather to be considered as a period adorned with the fables of poetry, than established on undoubted monuments. But however the devices of fancy may delight and amuse us, in reading of the dark ages, they could never have contributed to our entertainment, had they been thrown into the accounts of succeeding times. It is there we require something more solid, nor should we be inclined to bear with the overwrought productions of fable. For when the Grecians united in society, and royalties and commonwealths were introduced, we find ourselves arriving at greater certainty every step we take, and the light of historical truth breaking in upon us, the further we advance. Nor will this be a matter of wonder to thee, *HYDASPES*, when thou considerest that the one may be regarded as the cause and parent of the other. It was good government, which gave life and being to history, and the just legislator made way for the judicious annalist. For as in youth, while the judgment is unsteady, and the principles of men are forming, imagination is apt to supply the want of prudence; but when they come to years of maturer discretion, their cooler and more deliberate reason takes place: so the province of poetical invention is very wisely seated in the infancy of the world, while the order of government was neglected, and mankind continued in a state of nature; but when political societies increased, and civil institutions were formed, the interests and policy of contending states opened at once a series of surprising actions, far excelling the legends of the poets, and presented a fair topic to the pen of an historian.

Adieu.

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LETTER XL.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe, &c.*

AN universal sorrow and confusion reign at present in this city ; the old and the young, the civil magistrate and the military officer, the private citizen and the recluse scholar, join equally in deploring the irretrievable misfortune which has befallen Athens, and look upon themselves as equally involved in its fatal consequences. Thou mayest at first imagine, potent lord, that the late devouring pestilence has returned ; that the naval force of this republic, its ornament and bulwark, has been defeated by the formidable fleet of Corinth ; or that the victorious arms of Peloponnesus have wasted Attica with fire and sword, and are now forming the siege of its metropolis. But none of these calamities have happened ; and to detain thee no longer, thou wilt not, I believe, be surprised at so general a concern, when I inform thee that PERICLES is dead, whose counsels have set his countrymen at the head of Greece, whose steady conduct has carried them with honour through the greatest difficulties, and whose military skill has given motion to their fleets and armies, during an administration of forty years. He died this evening at his house in the Ceramicus, of a fever, that has hung upon him for several months, and was occasioned by a severe shock, which his constitution received from the plague, when it raged here, which all the art of physic, though exerted by HIPPOCRATES himself, could never restore. His greatness of soul and natural flow of spirits made him disregard the approaches of danger : he was seen every day in the assemblies of the people, exhorting them to continue

continue the war with a vigour becoming the Athenian name, and pointing out to them the methods of supplying the expence of it. He used to sit late in the senate, debating on projects for distressing the enemy, and securing the commerce of Athens, or drawing up dispatches for their commanders and ministers abroad. He frequently visited the fortifications and harbour; examined every thing with his own eyes, one while pressing forward the equipment of their ships, through all the delays which the manner of fitting them out here necessarily occasions; at another, reviewing the troops, and strengthening the city with additional works; till at last, as the weakness of his body by no means answered the zeal of his heart for the public service, he was obliged to leave off appearing abroad, and to call in that assistance from physic, which he had too long neglected.

Upon the first news of his confinement, crowds of people daily flocked to the temples, particularly those of JUPITER THE COUNSELLOR, and MINERVA the patroness of Athens, to solicit, with prayers and offerings, the continuance of so valuable a life, as the greatest national blessing they could bestow, and the strongest proof that Athens was still under the protection and auspicious influence of her guardian deities. During the short gleams of hope, and quick returns of fear, which succeeded each other in the progress of the distemper, all publick affairs were at a stand: no news from their armies or squadrons enquired after; and the truth of an old observation was verified, that mankind more sensibly perceive the excellence of any thing from the want than from the enjoyment of it.

The behaviour of PERICLES, in the whole course of his illness, was composed and magnanimous, entirely consistent with the rest of his

his life, and agreeable to the calm fortitude he had always shewn both in the adversity and prosperity of his fortunes. I was myself a witness to a remarkable incident. As some of his friends, not many days before his death, were sitting in his chamber, and discoursing of his virtue and authority, his memorable actions, and the trophies he had set up, whilst he commanded the armies of the republic, not imagining that he was then attending to their conversation; on the sudden he called out to us, that all the circumstances which we had mentioned, were common to him with the other great men whom Athens had produced; and that, besides, fortune might lay claim to part of the merit of them; but, continued he, you have omitted what I most value myself upon, that in my whole administration none of my fellow-citizens ever wore mourning on my account. We, who were then present, were so moved with this speech, that we melted into tears, which I dare say a man of PERICLES his sense took for the highest panegyric we could bestow, as I am sure it was the most natural.

I have taken care to send away my dispatch by a ship that sails immediately out of the port for Ephesus; and as the wind sets fair, and the express who is charged with it, is used to expeditious journeys, I doubt not but it will bring the earliest advice to the court of Persia of this remarkable and interesting event. Adieu.

From Athens.

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*From an original Bust in the Collection of
Charles Townley Esq.*

LETTER XLI.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS, *first Minister to ARTAXERXES.*

I HAVE already, noble satrap, acquainted the chief scribe with the death of PERICLES, and the remarkable circumstances that attended it. It will be now a very natural as well as useful speculation, to take a general survey of his life, to examine into the maxims of his politics, the methods by which he gained and preserved his authority, and to lay open his temper and turn of mind. In doing this, I shall have recourse both to the encomiums of his friends and the accusations of his enemies; and endeavour to steer between the extremes of exalting so remarkable a character, through a mean compliance with the former, or derogating from the true merit of it, though a tincture of the envious dispositions of the latter. I will neither heighten the colouring of the picture, nor bring the shades too forward; but exhibit, as accurately as I can, a faithful, yet not a disagreeable, likeness.

PERICLES was descended from the noblest families in Athens. His father XANTIPPUS defeated the Persians at the famous battle of Mycale; his mother AGARISTE was grand-daughter to CLISTHENES, who drove out the usurping race of PISISTRATUS. It may seem surprising, that a person whose birth and education must have disposed him to join with that part of the city which was the most distinguished for their families and fortunes, should yet, upon his first appearance in business, embrace that of the people, and steadily adhere to it in the course of his political conduct. But very sufficient reasons may be assigned for it: the principal of them was, that when

VOL. I.

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he began to appear as a candidate for the offices and honours of the state, CIMON was universally regarded as the champion of the aristocratical faction; and there was no other way to counterbalance his authority, or to establish his own upon the ruins of it, than by siding with the opposite party. He disdained to be second amongst the former, when he could be first amongst the latter. For the great maxim, which one may trace through all his actions, was, to place his country at the head of Greece, and himself at the head of his country.

During the long and warm contests which PERICLES maintained with CIMON, and afterwards with THUCYDIDES, the one illustrious for his military glory and liberal temper, the other well skilled in eloquence and civil policy, he shewed himself a most artful and designing statesman. He industriously sought out every method that could fix a volatile forgetful people in his interests; and whilst he was thus heated with opposition, and sometimes personally endangered from the practices of his enemies, it must be owned he oftener consulted what might serve the present occasion, than what would turn to the future advantage of the publick. Unable by his private fortunes to emulate the generous hospitality of CIMON, he proposed, that a large fund of money, set apart for the necessities of a war, should be distributed amongst the poor citizens, every time they frequented the theatre at the representation of a new play. It is no wonder, after he had procured a law which paid them for going where their love of pleasure alone would have invited them to go, that he should be the author of another, which assigns a certain salary to them for doing their duty to their country, by attending the assemblies, and serving in the courts of justice. Whilst I am mentioning arts of this nature, which set PERICLES to view in the light rather of a self-interested minister, than a useful patriot

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to his country, I cannot omit his reducing the power of the venerable tribunal of the *AREOPAGUS*, which (as I hinted in a former letter*) he did with an intent to pay his court to the people, by throwing more power into their hands, and weakening that of the nobles his enemies; though at the same time the interest of the publick suffered, by having the greatest barrier against the natural licentiousness of Athens almost entirely removed. The magnificent buildings, fine statues, and other publick works†, which were erected at such a vast expence in the course of his ministry, were owing to these motives; to gain the good-will of the people in general, for having been the proposer and inspector of such grand undertakings, which rendered their city the admiration and resort of strangers, and the chief ornament of Greece; to enrich the useful artist and industrious mechanic, and by such a circulation of labour and wealth, to employ those citizens, whose poverty and factious dispositions might have incited them to better their own conditions, by disturbing the security of the public. Lastly, to acquire a reputation for himself, as durable and striking as the works themselves, which were brought to perfection in fewer years, than most people imagined they would be ages in finishing. One circumstance indeed contributed to raise a great load of envy against him; it was, that in order to defray the immense charges of these works, he removed the publick treasure of Greece from Delos, where it used to be kept, to Athens, where he had himself the direction of it. His enemies, both foreign and domestick, had the most plausible topick imaginable of accusation against him, when they asserted the injustice of laying out the sums contributed by the Grecian allies towards the expences of a Persian war, in adorning one particular city. *PERICLES* likewise rendered himself very popular by a useful scheme which he proposed,

* Vide Letter xiii.

† Ibid. xi. and xxiv.

that a large squadron of galleys should be sent out every year, with a certain number of citizens on board in pay for eight months, in order to supply their colonies abroad, and to sail round the coast and islands of Greece, to collect the tributes paid by the allies to the Athenians. By putting this project in execution, two important ends were gained; the establishing of a perpetual nursery for seamen, and the making of the Athenian flag respected in whatever part of the sea it was displayed. Thou canst not wonder, potent minister, if by these methods, by his commanding eloquence, and by his singular art of managing popular assemblies, he not only stood his ground against CIMON and THUCYDIDES, but pushed his advantages so far, as to banish them both by ostracism. Yet he shewed his love for his country in the midst of his resentment; for before the term of CIMON's banishment was expired, he drew up himself a decree for recalling him at the earnest desire of the people, then pressed with an unsuccessful war against Lacedæmon. It is observed of PERICLES, that after he had surmounted all opposition, and got the management of affairs into his own hands, there was a remarkable change in his conduct: he was no longer so compliant with every demand of the people, or so ready to fall in with their notions, and contrive schemes merely to pay his court to them; but constantly pursued the regular plan of measures which his prudence dictated, notwithstanding their fickleness and discontent; and partly by the ascendant he had gained over their minds, partly by the force of his oratory, obliged them to comply so entirely with whatever he proposed, that the government of Athens, during his life-time, may be said to have been in appearance popular, but in truth monarchical. And certainly, as it contributed not a little to fix the Athenian glory and power on a solid basis, that the influence of a single man was an over-balance to all the inconveniencies and uncertain politics of republican constitutions; so no man in the city deserved to possess such

such an influence but PERICLES. For his natural genius was strong, penetrating, and extensive, heightened by all the additional lustre that learning and philosophy (which he chiefly owed to ANAXAGORAS) could afford; nor was he unacquainted with musick and the politer arts. These accomplishments, joined to the politeness and dignity of his behaviour, endeared him to his fellow citizens; but those which rendered him considerable amongst them, were his masterly talents of working upon their hopes and fears, so as by the one to check their excessive confidence, when they were proudly elated with success; by the other, to raise their drooping spirits in conjunctures of difficulty and misfortune; and next, the use and comprehension of the political maxims, which he constantly inculcated: "As that the Athenians, instead of wasting themselves by foreign expeditions, should contend for the chief place among the Grecian states; that they should take every opportunity of improving their naval force, and permitting no other to lay claim to the dominion of the sea; that they should maintain their dignity and honour to the height, and suffer no insults, however seemingly small, without making suitable returns; because a tame and passive behaviour in those cases only laid them open to greater insults." These (if I may use the expression) were the great outlines of his politicks, and will, if attended to, afford us a surer clue to his conduct, than the calumnies of his enemies, and the idle scandal of the comick poets. Is it not, for instance, much more rational and fair, to attribute the war of Samos to the necessity which he thought there was of humbling a people that had refused the Athenian mediation, and were able to dispute the prize of naval power with Athens herself, than to the interest of his mistress ASPASIA, whose countrymen of Mitylene (it is pretended) had been injured by the Samians? Does he not appear to have acted for the good of his country, when he discouraged them

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from exhausting their treasures and money in distant schemes, against Sicily and Persia, at a time when danger nearer home threatened them? And whoever considers the state of affairs in Greece, some years before the Peloponnesian war broke out, must be convinced that the jealousy of Sparta and her allies against the rising empire of Athens, and the aspiring spirit and arbitrary proceedings of the latter, were sufficient of themselves to excite the war, without any mixture of the private interest of PERICLES to inflame it; though as there was at that same juncture, a more than ordinary ill humour arising against him, it is probable he fell in the more readily with the popular dispositions for a war, in order to divert the storm that threatened himself. But this point I have already explained more at large on a former occasion.*

In his military capacity he frequently exposed his own person with great gallantry; but he was remarkably cautious of hazarding the troops under his command; and he never entered upon action, without leaving as little room as possible for the fickleness of fortune, or the effects of a happy temerity. However, though the merit of his exploits as a general will not place him in the same rank with THEMISTOCLES or CIMON, yet he set up nine trophies, whilst he commanded the armies of the state, and particularly distinguished himself in gaining a great naval victory over the Samians.

Illustrious MEGABYZUS, as thou hast already equalled this extraordinary minister in the extent and solidity of thy genius, and the importance of the services which thou hast performed for thy prince and country, I can only wish that thou mayest exceed him in length of days and increase of honour. Adieu.

From Athens.

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* Vide Letter iv. and xxii.

L E T T E R XLII.

ORSAMPS to CLEANDER. *From Thebes.*

HAVING familiarized myself much of late with the hieroglyphical imagery, in order to gain some knowledge of the sacred characters, it has been my custom to spend a few hours every day among the valuable monuments of learning in this place, from whence I now write to you, which is called, the *sacred Library*. It is an apartment belonging to that famous tomb of OSMANDUAS, which they boast of here, (and I believe justly,) as one of the most wonderful fabricks now existing in the known world. This noble musæum, the gallery adjoining, and the chamber of the gods and kings, far exceed in magnificence the palaces of living monarchs. Every stranger, upon his first coming into *Ægypt*, is struck with wonder at the stateliness of their buildings ; but more surprized, when he finds the most magnificent piles no other than the repositories of a senseless carcase or a dried mummy. But this is the humour that prevails among them ; for though the structure of their private houses is admirable in its kind, especially if compared with the buildings in other countries, yet in their sepulchres they far exceed them ; leaving nothing undone, that the most exquisite art can contrive to beautify the latter. And though there appears something ridiculous in this peculiarity, this fantastic pageantry in death, yet upon reflecting further, one cannot disapprove of the principle which may have given rise to it, or which is at least kept up by it amongst them, namely, the setting a low value upon the short time of this present life, and being only concerned for the reputation of their virtue after death. And I believe (though the worship of deified mortals

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was very early introduced) these magnificent sepulchres have consecrated the memory of many illustrious persons, and in general were the first publick temples. However, there is something in this place extremely affecting to a contemplative mind; the lively figures of so many kings, heroes, and great men, as are here represented in company with the gods, in the same attitudes as if they were still breathing, do, as it were, bring down all ages to the present instant, and strike one's fancy in a pleasing manner, rather to be felt than expressed. And though I do not approve of their giving form to immortal beings, yet there is somewhat great and noble in the thought of ranking illustrious personages amidst immortal natures. Around that room, in which it is supposed that the king's body lies interred, are curiously pictured, in several lesser apartments, all the sacred animals of Ægypt. The whole building about the tomb is ten furlongs in circuit*: at the first entrance, you are led through a portico of various-coloured marbles, two hundred feet in length, into a stone gallery of four hundred; it is supported with beasts instead of pillars, each of one entire stone sixteen cubits high, carved after the antique manner. The roof has an azure sky bespangled with stars. Passing through this peristylon you enter into another portico, which still improves upon your admiration, with more curious carving and greater variety. At the entrance stand three statues; the figures are wonderful, not only for their prodigious size, but for the beauty of the stone, and excellency of the workmanship, in which the proportions are so nicely preserved, that the most discerning eye has never been able to discover the least fault or blemish in them. The middle one, in a sitting posture, is the king OSMANDUAS, which is more than seven cubits high; the other two, his daughter and mother, standing on each hand of him. The inscription upon that of

* Diodor. Sicul.

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the king has, I think, justly challenged any other prince to excel him in any of his works. The second gallery was much damaged by the ravages of CAMBYSES, yet there still remain several pieces of sculpture about it, which represent OSMANDUAS's wars with the Bactrians. In the first wall the king is seen assaulting a bulwark, environed with a river, which is generally taken for the Eulæus, that surrounds the citadel of Susa. The sculpture in the royal palaces of Susa and Persepolis is much the same with what I find here. They were both beautified with the spoils of Ægypt. But the Ægyptian buildings at Susa are supposed to be as ancient as the age of MEMNON*, who was the son of OSMANDUAS, if not the same person. In the centre of this gallery is a peristylon open to the air at top, and in it was raised a large altar of costly marble and excellent workmanship, but both the altar and the pillars of the peristylon are much impaired. Next is the gallery adjoining to this musæum, in which is to be seen the king adorned in his most gorgeous robes, offering a tribute of gold and silver to the gods. And in the apartment beyond, where he is supposed to lie buried, begins a stately ascent leading to the top of the whole monument, over which was formerly a border of gold of three hundred and sixty-five cubits in compass and a cubit thick, but it was carried away by CAMBYSES, and the place is since supplied by one of brass of the same dimensions. Within the division of every cubit are the several days of the year engraven, with the risings and settings of the stars, and the effects portended by them. For the Theban priests have been very exact in regulating the course of the year†, having found so great a variation occasioned by the lunar reckonings. For twelve revolutions of the moon not being equal to the solar cycle, the months must of necessity by degrees change their place, and in a great

* Strabo, lib. xv.

† Ibid. lib. xvii.

number of years the festival, which was fixed to the beginning of the summer solstice, would be removed into the midst of the winter. Observing this defect they saw a necessity of adding five days to the end of every twelve months, which they reckoned at thirty days each, to make up the course of the year; of which they gave an account under the disguise of this fable: MERCURY being once at dice with the moon, he got from her the 72d part of the year, which he afterwards added to the 360 days, which were anciently the days of the year, and therein celebrated the festivals of their gods*. Thence the names of these several additional days were taken from the gods; the first was called OSIRIS, it being celebrated in honour of him; the second ARUERIS, dedicated to the senior ORUS; the third to TYPHO; the fourth to ISIS; the fifth to NEPTHÆ, the wife of TYPHO, and sister to ISIS. The priests, who are curious to preserve an exact register of time among themselves, though less concerned to rectify the inaccuracies of the vulgar, have by continual observations, since those additional days were taken in, discovered that there wanted still six hours in every year to render it complete. For this reason, in their hieroglyphical manner, when they would express a year, they name a quadrant, because from one rising of SOTHIS the dogstar to another, the fourth part of a day is added; so that by their most exact calculations the year consists of 365 days and a quadrant†, or the fourth part of a day, which makes the intercalation of a day necessary every fourth year.

But as the Ægyptians, by a superstitious usage, which the priests willingly indulge them in, must have their festivals run through every day in the year, the civil year is still left according to the 365 cubital segments, without any reckoning of a supernumerary day in

* Plutar. de Isid. & Osir.

† Horapollon, Hierogl. lib. i. c. 5. Diodor. Sicul. lib. i.

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the fourth year. The burying-places of the ancient kings*, which lie above the Memnonium, and are cut by most exquisite art in the natural rock, have not escaped my notice. The obelisks found in those repositories declare their power and greatness, their numerous armies, and the tribute they imposed upon conquered nations. Indeed there is nothing about Thebes of note, which I have not made the subject of observation. My quality in Persia entitles me to a handsome reception every where in Ægypt; but the humanity of PHARNUCES, the governor of Thebes, is more than an ordinary friendship; it is by his means I have had the easiest access wherever my curiosity led me. I have often wondered at his generous and disinterested regard for a stranger, and shall always think of it with gratitude: he courts my stay, and fails not to make it agreeable. I told him lately, I had through his favour gratified my curiosity sufficiently, and should shortly take a little ramble in the neighbourhood of Thebes, as far as Syene, before I set forwards for Heliopolis. Yes, ORSAMES, said he with a smile, but you are mistaken, if you think you have seen Thebes; upon which he gave orders to his servants that a barge should be ready, when I pleased, to carry me over the river to Tentyra, and that I should be conducted to the top of Isis's temple†. I knew PHARNUCES to well, to think any proposal of his deserved to be neglected: accordingly one morning, when the air was clear, I passed over to Tentyra, a small city, if compared to Thebes. It stands on a hill on the opposite shore. The temple of Isis is its most considerable building, and

* Strabo, lib. xvii.

† The ruins of this temple are still extant, according to the relations of modern travellers, who say it was a temple of SERAPIS; but as the worship of that god was not introduced into Ægypt till the reign of king PTOLEMY, many ages after this period of time, we must suppose it was originally dedicated to ISIS, and afterwards turned to the worship of SERAPIS. Note by the translator.

well deserves a particular description, if the many works of this kind did not make that tedious. I shall only observe, that the whole front lies in the same line, except one large portico, which projects in the middle. On each side from the portico run three ranges of granite columns, which form a noble piazza, and support the building. The columns are of an extraordinary height, and the circumference such as seven men could scarcely fathom; from whence I shall leave you to judge of the magnificence of the whole. As soon as I reached the top of the temple, I saw plainly why my friend PHARNUCES had told me I had not yet seen Thebes. Here I was raised by the advantage of the ground and the additional height of the temple; I saw the Nile under me interspersed with small islands, none of which were unoccupied near so wealthy a city. Some served for stations to small vessels, and contained the huts of fishermen; others planted with fruits and vegetables to supply the town; and some adorned with the houses of wealthy citizens, and laid out into commodious gardens. The numberless vessels, that passed by them continually, discovered something very new and pleasing, and set before me the whole traffick of Ægypt; all whose great cities lying on the banks of the Nile use this one channel for the conveyance of their merchandize, and as far as my eye could reach north and south, the scene of business was continued. But I was sent hither to take a view of Thebes, an object too large (as PHARNUCES thought) whilst I was in the midst of it, and therefore very judiciously set me at this distance. The air was clear, and a brisk wind dispersed the smoke of the city, which lay stretched on the opposite bank, and rising before me toward the eastern mountains. I had made myself acquainted with its different quarters, and knew its most considerable structures; so was better fitted for such a view, and could take it in without confusion. The temples and palaces presented themselves to me like lofty cedars above the rest of the forest; and I now could observe

observe some proportions in those great works, which before were lost to me, because I viewed them by parts ; and what filled me chiefly with astonishment only, now shewed beauty, order, and exquisite design. Those vast statues and prodigious groups of figures seemed fit ornaments in their place. I could from hence, by my extensive prospect, see the wisdom of the founder of this city in the choice of its situation, in regard to its accommodations and security. Two or three days after I went to PHARNUCES, to inform him of my intended journey : he said, he wished I could have found any thing to have detained me longer, and asked me, how I liked the prospect from Isis's temple ? I answered, it was above all I had met with before ; I had seen the handsome streets of Thebes, noble palaces, curious obelisks, statues, and temples, but never could have formed the idea that prospect imprinted on my mind. He stept out of the room, and immediately brought the very prospect I have been describing painted upon linen, and several draughts of the remarkable edifices of Syene, (which I had not seen,) telling me, these, he fancied, might vie with the master-pieces of Greece ; and as I should have an opportunity of making the comparison, desired my acceptance of them ; which I shall preserve with the utmost care, not more on account of their value than my esteem for PHARNUCES. For his sake I should leave Thebes with reluctance, did I not hope thereby to furnish myself with materials for so agreeable a correspondence as CLEANDER's. Farewel.

L. & H.

LETTER XLIII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

IN my last letter, HYDASPES, I endeavoured to offer thee some reasons for the fabulous uncertainty of the Grecian history in the earliest ages; and I concluded with applying one general remark to this particular nation, *viz.* that the introduction of civil government into the world, gave rise to historical truth. I would observe, in the next place, that it can hardly be said till very lately, that any historian hath appeared amongst them; *i. e.* any man who deserves the name of an historian, since most of those writings which are intitled histories, may scarcely be construed to extend beyond a naked register of public events.

What other character can be given of the works of ARCHILOCHUS, or THEAGENES of Rhegium? Will the Cretan history of XENON, or the Lydian kings of XANTHUS the Sardian, plead admittance for them into the libraries of the learned? Can the Theogony of ARISTEAS lay claim to our esteem, or DAMASTES of Sigeum be remembered to posterity from his treaties to nations and cities? Equally fabulous and dry, we can neither reflect on them, after a serious perusal, with satisfaction, nor propose them as models for imitation. HECATÆUS the Milesian, and HELLANICUS of Mitylene, have within these fifty years improved and reformed historical knowledge to a great degree; but even then it might be regarded only as in the dawn: the honour of carrying it to any kind of perfection was reserved to HERODOTUS. For if we consider the variety of his learning, and the copiousness of his subject, the smoothness of his



Drawn by A. Day Rome

Engraved by M. B. Rome

UoM

HERODOTUS.

From a Bust in the Capitol.

1100

his style, and the perspicuity of his narration, we shall find that the fiction of the poets, and the dull annals of laborious compilers, will bear no proportion either in profit or in pleasure, when compared with his history. He begins it with CANDAULAS and CYRUS, and brings it down to the battle of Mycale towards the latter end of XERXES's reign, which comprehends the space of one hundred and twenty years. Besides the story of the Greeks and Persians, which is the main argument of his work, he throws in that of other nations, by way of episode or digression. This extraordinary person was born at Halicarnassus, a Grecian colony in the Lesser Asia, not long before the invasion of Greece by the armies of XERXES. In his youth he retired from his native city to Samos, in order to avoid the arbitrary proceedings of LYGDAMIS, the grandson of the famous ARTEMISIA, who acquitted himself with so much honour in the naval engagement at Salamis. It was there he formed himself upon the dialect of IONIA and compiled his history. This was indeed a place more peculiarly fitted to his purpose; for as in every democratical government, so in that of Samos, a man is neither biassed by hopes nor by fears, and is at liberty to commend, without the least imputation of flattery, and to censure without that of malice or detraction. In the mean while he spared no pains to inform himself of all that was necessary, in the best manner which he could. To this end he travelled into Ægypt, surveyed its chief towns, conversed with the priests of Thebes and Memphis, and penetrated into the principles of their religion and learning, as far as his own sagacity could carry him, and their recluseness would permit him. He travelled through the several cantons and republicks of Greece, saw the principal cities of Asia, and visited the borders of Thrace, Scythia, and Arabia. Returning, however, after a long voluntary exile, into his own country, he bore a considerable part in the expulsion of the tyrant; but meeting with envy from his fellow-citizens, instead of that gratitude which

which he expected, as the just reward of his services, he came to Athens; and after about a twelvemonth's stay here, departed into Italy with a colony of Athenians, to build a city called Thurium, near the ruins of the ancient Sybaris. As soon as he had drawn up his history from the materials he had collected with such infinite diligence and industry, he determined to expose it to the judgment of all Greece. It happened, that during his residence at Athens, besides the feast of Panathenæa, where he read over his work aloud, the Olympian exercises were then performing, to which the Grecians resorted in general from each state, and thus he had a very fair opportunity given him to put his design in execution. Many of his auditors had no doubt been personally engaged in some of the battles against XERXES and MARDONIUS, and not one of them could be unacquainted with the principal facts of a war, so honourable to Greece and so inglorious to Persia. In the midst of this assembly he declared, that he appeared before them not so much a spectator of their games, as a competitor for the prize of reputation; and recited his work publicly a second time with universal applause and approbation. Nothing can be a greater testimony of this applause, than that the names of the nine muses have been given to the nine books of his history; as if the composition were above the standard of humanity, and the joint labour of those celebrated divinities.

If, after a judgment so unanimous, and in every respect so valuable, I may be allowed to add my own, I must freely confess, HYDASPES, that I have received more instruction from the history of HERODOTUS, than from any author within the little sphere of my observation. Every part of the narrative suggested matter of entertainment to the imagination, and useful improvement to the mind. I considered myself one while as under the protection and guidance of the most eminent heroes of antiquity, as having their bright example

ample before my eyes, and in the future course of my actions attending to the noble principles which influenced their conduct in life. I considered myself another while as a citizen of the world at large; as divested of every national prejudice or false bias, while the great men of past ages submitted to my censure; and in my own breast I pronounced an impartial and disinterested sentence on their characters. In each of these views, history may be called the school, where the living, that would be wise, are the scholars; where the dead, as well the fools as the wise, are frequent lessons of courage and experience to generals, of prudence and fidelity to ministers, of moderation and justice to kings. Hence every person, in his private capacity, may learn to merit the distinguishing name of a man; and princes are warned, that they are no more than men, and that fame is always just to the dead, however partial to the living. In short, nothing can be more agreeable, than by the means of history to accompany MILTIADES at Marathon, THEMISTOCLES at Salamis, or CIMON at Mycale. To be placed as a spectator out of all hazards; to reap wisdom from the danger of others; to regulate what one has to do by what has been done; to foretel the future by the past; and thus to become a diviner, without magic; and a prophet, without inspiration. But I forbear to say any thing farther on this theme: thou must pardon me, HYDASPES, for having troubled thee so long; but it was impossible for me not to enlarge on the excellence and utility of history, when I was speaking of the man, who hath first placed it in its true dignity and lustre. Adieu.

From Athens.

C.

LETTER XLIV.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

As I had no particular commands to deliver to thee, I have neglected to write to Athens for some time; and to say the truth, my CLEANDER, thy diligence is such, that it leaves us nothing to hope for on the side of information; and thy sagacity is so great, that it anticipates the wisest instructions of the ministers. Think not that I mean to flatter thee; for as thou knowest me to be framed of a temper above indulging that vice, even to the weakest of princes, it would ill become me, when I am speaking to a man of sense. The cruel proceedings of the Athenians against the Peloponnesian ambassadors have not deterred the Lacedæmonians from sending another to this court in their stead. His name, it seems, is PYRACMON. As soon as he arrived here, he addressed himself to thy friend HYDASPES, the chamberlain, telling him, he was a Spartan by nation, and demanded an audience of the king. HYDASPES acquainted him with the ceremony of prostration, which it is absolutely necessary that all should comply with, who are willing to be admitted into the chamber of presence. "For," says he, "we are ordered by the law to adore our sovereign, as the living image of the Deity, which sustains and preserves the universe." To which the other answered with the Laconick brevity and pride; "I will do nothing that shall be thought a dishonour to my country;" and therefore an audience was refused him. However, he has had several conferences with MEGABYZUS and myself; but his behaviour and his instructions are both so reserved, that it is impossible for

for us to learn any particulars of moment from him. His only business, as far as I can collect it from all which he has said, is, to put the king to a fruitless expence, without offering any suitable recompence; and to ask for supplies, without proposing any mutual advantages to Persia. This request, thou mayest easily conjecture, is regarded as wild and extravagant; besides, it is not consistent with the political views of our court, and the resolution of the Persian council, to interfere in the civil broils and dissensions of Greece, while the leading republicks are destroying one another upon equal terms. It will be our part, whenever that time shall come, to throw ourselves into the scale of the weakest; an argument which has already been fully treated of in a former letter*, and upon that account will more properly be waved at the present.

I agree with thee, that the removal of PERICLES was an act of folly, and that his sudden restoration to the highest offices in the commonwealth was at once an instance of the wisdom and inconsistency of the Athenian people; but as I was not surprised at the one, so I could not wonder at the other. I was extremely pleased with the relation which thou gavest me of thy visit to that excellent statesman, on thy return from Salamis; nor was I without hopes, that, by the dexterity and politeness of thy conversation, thou mightest have procured some material intelligence from him. And yet how precarious is every prospect of human happiness! Soon after his restoration, we were told of the wasting disease that preyed upon him; and, lo! thy next brought the moving narrative of his death. Sensible as I was, that Greece had lost her ablest politician; and that the most powerful obstacle to the designs of ARTAXERXES was removed, I could not help yielding for a moment to the soft impres-

* Vide Letter xiv. and xxiv.

sions of tenderness and sorrow. The unaffected encomium which he bestowed upon himself before he died, gave me the strongest idea I had ever entertained of his mild and equitable administration. PERICLES was above the genius of the city that produced him; for he seemed born to monarchical sway, notwithstanding Providence had placed him in a republican state. Such however was his influence, that though in effect he settled the most important points according to his own inclinations, yet his own inclinations were guided by the truest discretion, and consistent with the most perfect freedom. Well might he then be revered as the father of his country; a name which he expressed, not in any royal formality of titles, but in the real course of his government. Thus much, I think, thou mayest reasonably expect from me, as a due tribute of praise to the character of a good minister, in the service of his country, and to the memory of a great man, though an enemy to Persia.

The siege of Plataea, according to the accounts I have received of the place, will last, in all probability, a considerable while longer. It is certainly a town of consequence to the Athenians, and deserves well of them, for its steady adherence to their interest in the present war, and of all Greece, for its inviolable attachment to the common cause. Fail not to send the earliest news of the motions of PROXIMO's fleet. In the mean time forget not to inform thyself of the intrigues in the city, and who is likely to succeed PERICLES in the popular esteem and administration. But these things I forbear to enlarge upon, and therefore entrust thee to the safe dictates of thy own observation and prudence. In short, I have nothing to add further, than the sincerest expressions of the pleasure which I take in thy approved capacity for business, and the strongest exhortation I can give thee, to persevere in the same course of fidelity and obedience. Be assured, CLEANDER, this alone will recommend thee to
the

the protection of OROMASDES, and the favour of our mighty master, for whose health I pray, before the morning walks over the dews of eastern hills, and after the sun sinks into the oceans of the west. Adieu.

From Babylon.

C.

LETTER XLV.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS, *Chief Scribe, &c.* From Athens.

THE military operations of this campaign prove a great deal more active than those of the two former; whether it is that the animosities of the contending states, instead of decaying, grow more vigorous, by the continuance of the war; or that the hopes, which were formerly entertained of peace, being quite vanished since the fruitless negotiations of last year, the various parties, that prevail in these republicks, are agreed to give a different turn to their private resentments, by exerting them only against the common enemy.

I intend this dispatch shall contain an exact account of such material events as have happened since the death of PERICLES.

The Peloponnesian army is still employed, or rather wasting itself, at the siege of Plataea, with no great profit to themselves, or damage to their enemies. The last letters from thence say, that the besieged have lately made a vigorous sally, and undermined a mount, which the besiegers had raised to plant their engines upon, and command the rampart of the place.

An

An account is arrived here of an unsuccessful expedition, which the Ambraciots and Spartans have made against Acarnania. It was projected by the former, in conjunction with the Chaonians and some other Barbarians, who inhabit the frontiers of Greece towards Macedonia. They persuaded the Lacedæmonians to send them a thousand men, under the command of CNEMUS, an officer of good reputation; whilst the Corinthians and the other allies were preparing a large fleet with transports to join them, and complete the conquest of Acarnania. CNEMUS imagining he should overrun the country upon the first inroad, set forward without staying for this reinforcement, with his army drawn up in three columns. As he advanced towards Straton, the metropolis of Acarnania, the inhabitants made a brisk attack upon a column of Chaonians, who led the van, and were imprudently marched forward some leagues beyond the rest of the army. These barbarians made no great resistance, and were entirely routed; which so discouraged CNEMUS, that he retreated with some precipitation, lest he should be intercepted by the succours that were assembling for the relief of Straton.

The satisfaction, which the Athenians express at the failure of this enterprise, which, however well conducted, could have affected them but very remotely, is much heightened by the news they received yesterday of a naval victory, which their fleet, commanded by PHORMIO, has gained over that of the Corinthians. The first notice they received of it was by seeing a trireme enter the harbour of Piræus with the usual marks of success. The officers and sailors were ranked upon the deck crowned with garlands, and filling the air with repeated acclamations. The ship herself was hung with wrecks of shattered vessels of the enemy, and adorned with trophies of arms, whilst the oars kept time to the harmony of musical instruments.

ments. Great multitudes of people flocked instantly to enjoy this agreeable spectacle from the shore. The captain, whose name is DIOMEDON, landed and went directly to the Prytaneum, (or town-house, where the Prytanes have a plain repast prepared every day for them at the publick charge,) and delivered his letters into their hands. These magistrates immediately assembled the senate; and after the letters had been read there, they were communicated to the impatient people in an extraordinary assembly that very evening. To-morrow is appointed as a day of thanksgiving at all their temples for this success. I have obtained a copy of the dispatch sent by PHORMIO, with an account of the action, which I have enclosed in this packet. It shews as well the experience and spirit of the admiral, as the honest plainness of a true Athenian; and therefore I imagined, noble scribe, that a sight of it would not be disagreeable to thyself and the rest of the Persian council. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XLVI.

PHORMIO to the Senate and People of Athens.

I RECEIVED the orders you sent me to prevent the fleet of Corinth and the other confederates from joining with CNEMUS and the Ambraciots; and hope you will not be dissatisfied with the manner in which I have executed them. Upon the first advice that they were sailed from the Crissæan gulph, I weighed anchor from Nauspectus with twenty gallies, in order to attend their motions, and came up with them just as they were got out of the Streights. As soon as we descried their fleet, which consisted of forty-seven sail, under the command of three admirals, making the best of its way from Patræa to the opposite continent of Acarnania, I held a council
of

of war with the other captains; in which it was determined, notwithstanding the superiority of number lay on their side, to venture an engagement. We considered that they were rather furnished for the land-service than a naval action; and that the goodness of our ships, and the experience and courage of our seamen, would be an over-balance to our inferiority in point of force. Accordingly, on the twentieth of the month Thargelion in the morning, the sails were ordered to be struck, the rowers to lower themselves under the deck, the soldiers to repair to their respective stations, and the squadron to fall into line of battle. The enemy, observing that they could not escape us without fighting, drew up their fleet in the form of a roundel, placing the larger vessels on the outside, as a defence to the transports, which were disposed in the midst. Five of their swiftest gallies were likewise ordered to be ready to sally out upon us through the vacant spaces of the line, in whatever part we should make an impression. In this posture we continued some time, till an easterly wind, which blows every morning out of the gulph, arising, I observed that their fleet was not only contracted by it into a narrow compass, but their order considerably disturbed. I thought this favourable opportunity not to be omitted, and therefore ordered the signal of battle to be hung out, and the trumpets to sound a charge from the admiral's ship, which was immediately followed round the rest of the squadron. The first encounter was rough; a Corinthian ship commanded by MACHON, one of the admirals, endeavoured to break my oars; but I avoided the shock, and after giving her a volley of darts and stones, bore down upon the poop, and flung a bridge over her, and notwithstanding a smart opposition, entered soldiers on board her, when she surrendered. In the mean time the rest of the squadron broke into the enemy's line, and dispersed their whole fleet: DIOMEDON, trierarch of the *Thetis*, and DE-

MOSTHENES,

MOSTHENES, trierarch of the *Nereids*, distinguished themselves in a peculiar manner. The former, though he was attacked by two of the enemy's ships, who attempted to board him with grappling-irons, repulsed them both, put the one to flight, and sunk the other. The latter shattered several of the Corinthian ships, and always stretched a-head after the flyers; leaving those he had damaged, for others that followed him to take. In general, your officers and soldiers behaved themselves with a gallantry and skill becoming Athenians. We have made ourselves masters of twelve ships, and a great many prisoners; and after erecting a trophy, and consecrating a galley to NEPTUNE, at Molycrium, returned to Naupactus, from whence I have dispatched DIOMEDEON with this account. I cannot conclude, without pressing you in the most earnest manner, to send me a large and speedy reinforcement, or else the present success can never turn to any future advantage. Your enemies, far from being discouraged, redouble their preparations. The remainder of the conquered fleet are rendezvoused at Cyllene, the arsenal of the Eleans, where they have been joined by CNEMUS and BRASIDAS, whom the Lacedæmonians have sent with supplies of men and money. They give out, that they shall soon be able to put to sea with seventy sail.

Wherefore, Athenians, let not any delays, proceeding from faction or interest, retard the course of your business, and produce inconveniencies, which in former times have proved highly detrimental to you, and may be fatal now. Consider how ungrateful it would be towards the gods, not to second the prosperous beginning they have sent you; how inexcusable towards yourselves, if you do not maintain the empire of the sea, which your ancestors transmitted down to you in full lustre at the price of so much blood; and how unaccountable it must appear in the eyes of all Greece, if the victors are

not solicitous to improve their advantage, as the vanquished to repair their losses. Farewel.

From on board the MINERVA quinquireme,
in the harbour of Naupactus.

P.

L E T T E R XLVII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. *From Syene in Thebais.*

THE reports I had heard of the wonderful cataract and other natural curiosities about this place, incited me to make an excursion hither, before I set forward on my journey into the Lower Ægypt. But here, I can assure you, my excursion terminates, lest you might suspect that I am going further into the barren wilds of Æthiopia, or the burning sands of Libya ; and I am not sorry it has led me so far, as I can hereby impart to you some new discoveries relating to the Ægyptian worship, which I believe are yet unknown in Greece, not many of that country having extended their travels to these remote corners of Ægypt. Besides that, they are of such a nature as the superstitious Greeks would not be much interested in making. For although those who travel are generally men of better sense, and understandings elevated above the vulgar, yet are they cautions of divulging any of their discoveries, which might help to undeceive the more ignorant. I had often heard at Thebes, that the people further up in Thebais paid nothing towards the charge of those animals used there and in the Lower Ægypt in the service of the inferior gods*. I have wondered much, why they in particular were exempted, but never could be rightly informed of the reason

* Plut. de Isid. & Osir.

of

of so peculiar an exemption, until I came to this place; so careful are the priests and devotees of that superstitious worship to conceal and disguise every thing that it is not their interest to publish. Upon coming hither, I was sensible of a great change from that pomp and pageantry, with which the religious of other parts in Ægypt have so extravagantly overloaded the worship of their gods. When I entered one of their temples, I was struck with the awful solemnity of the place; and it raised in me a devout seriousness, which all the sculpture and sensible representations of the gods had never before done in those I had elsewhere seen. There was something plain and simple in its ornaments, yet when taken together, seemed great and august, and extremely well adapted to excite a mechanical devotion; for I cannot call that otherwise, which is excited by any thing less than the pure contemplation of OROMASDES, when the mind abstracts itself from all material objects, and seeks no other temple but its own breast. A few hieroglyphics and emblematical figures were raised in sculpture from the walls; and the Æthiopians*, of whom the Syenites are a part, ascribe to themselves the invention of it. One figure presents itself at the entrance, which is rather remarkable, but seems placed there rather to characterise the powers and attributes, than intended for the shape and figure of the divinity they worship. It was a serpent with an hawk's head†: but the account I received from them of their religion was this: "That they owned "no mortal being to be god, but their god CNEPH; and him they "asserted to be without beginning and without end, the maker and "governor of the universe‡." The serpent seems to symbolize that spirit and vivific energy, which is by him diffused through all nature. And thus, say they, we are taught by EPEIS, our greatest hierophant and scribe, "that the first most divine being is as a ser-

* Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii.

† Philo. Bybl. Euseb. lib. i. p. 47. c. edit. Par.

‡ Plut. de Isid. & Osir.

"pent having an hawk's head, beautiful to look on, who, if he opens his eyes, fills the universe with light; if he winks, darkness is made." However, in religion I cannot approve even of this emblematical imagery; for by using it in order to bring down mysterious truth to the level of common understandings, we are too apt to materialize in our thoughts the nature of the Divine Being. And I am afraid it has but too often led the way to that senseless superstition and worship of animals, which extravagantly prevails in most other parts of this country. Yet it gives me pleasure to find, that amidst all these corruptions the notion of one Supreme Deity is not totally and universally obliterated; and that the same good dæmon, whom we call OROMASDES, the great author of the world, is not only adored among us in Persia, but his worship still preserved even amidst all the monstrous rites and superstitions of Ægypt. It may not be unworthy of your notice, what with much prying into their ancient learning I have in general collected, and which I am under no restrictions not to reveal to you, *viz.* that the first THOTH, or MERCURY, whose remains are preserved on their pillars and in their sacred books, never so much as mentions the Supreme Deity, who is above all things, or names him in the making of the world; and only ascribes divinity to certain mortal men and women*, and those such as cannot be applauded from the story of their exploits either for wisdom or virtue, and some of them notorious for the worst of vices. But the hierophants say here, that a second HERMES, at least nine hundred years later than the first, saw reason and necessity to reform and dissent from the false cosmogony that had been introduced by him, who attempted to explain the generation of things by certain principles in a chaos, without any help from the first and eternal mover. And of this latter HERMES, who was called SIRPHOAS †, the son of HEPHÆSTUS, and who reigned over all Ægypt,

* Sanchon. fragment. apud Euseb. August. de Civ. Dei. c. 7. † Syncell. 114. a.

they

they preserve here at Syene certain remains. But the *Ægyptian* priests in general deny that this second *MERCURY* dissented from the first. They say, he took great pains* to collect those invaluable treasures of learning, which the first *MERCURY* left in different places inscribed on pillars in the hieroglyphical characters, and which had lain neglected during the confusion of the intermediate times; and after he had made a complete collection; ordered them to be laid up in a book in the sacred repositories. Though these speculations have much engrossed my thoughts since my coming to Syene, I have not omitted seeing those curiosities in the neighbourhood of this place, which brought me hither, though straitened for time after so long a stay at Thebes. I sailed in an open galley to Elephantine, an island in the Nile, about one hundred and twenty stadia south from Syene, a little above which is the famous cataract; and there ends the navigation of the Nile. The river having passed Ethiopia, where it leaves many lakes and marshes by the dispersion of its waters, at last re-collects its scattered streams from Phile, a rocky island on its eastern side; and rolls on from thence, till near to Elephantine it is opposed by a chain of rocks that lie across its channel†. Dashed against them and grown impetuous, it mounts in foaming waves, and after struggling amidst the broken cliffs and craggy precipices, pours down from an immense height with a stupendous roaring and noise. But the incredible boldness of the people there is not less to be wondered at‡, who expose themselves to the raging current in small boats two together, the one steering, the other rowing; and passing the streights of the rock by little channels, rush headlong with the stream to the amazement of the beholders: for after giving them up for lost, you presently see them again, as if shot out of an engine, far

* Manetho. apud Euseb.

† Seneca natur. quæst. lib. iv. ed. Lips. p. 747. B. C.

‡ Ibid. p. 748.

from

from the place of their fall, and rowing safely in the assuaged waters. In sailing for pleasure about Elephantine, we were much entertained with many rude prospects of rocks and precipices, at the bottom of which are caves and grottos formed by the continual breaking of the waves upon them. Near Phile are two piked rocks*, where the Ægyptian priests say, are fountains of unfathomable depth. They call them the veins of the Nile, and annually in their solemnities upon the increase of its waters, go thither to throw in their presents as a tribute to the Nile. But when I arrive at Heliopolis, where I hope to be by the time that the solemnities upon that occasion are celebrated, I shall have more leisure, and be better prepared to entertain you with some physical accounts about it. In the area of an inclosure belonging to the college of astronomers in this town, is raised a stone edifice, with a spacious terrace on the top; where are fixed in the open air the larger instruments, always ready at hand for their observations; and a great aperture in the middle looks down into a very deep well†, which being exactly under the Tropic circle, is a certain index for the summer solstice. Though I am just setting out upon my progress into the Lower Ægypt, I could not forbear communicating to you these observations upon things, which afforded me some new discoveries, and a greater entertainment than I expected. And as I shall scarcely have leisure to write to you again till I reach Heliopolis or Memphis, I was unwilling there should be so long an interval in our correspondence. Adieu.

L.

* Herod. Euterp. c. 28.

† Strabo Plin. lib. ii. c. 73.

LETTER XLVIII.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS. *From Athens.*

THOU wilt be surprized, venerable Mage, when I inform thee, that a city so renowned as this is for its martial exploits, should at the same time be no less famous for its learning and acquirements in science. Its principal men think they are but half qualified for the service of the state, till they have gone through the whole circle of arts ; and it is not uncommon, even for those of the first rank, to give themselves up entirely to the culture of them. They make no scruple to undertake long voyages, in order to enrich themselves and their country with fresh discoveries ; and at home make it their chief business, and what mixes even in their entertainments, to promote knowledge. It is by these means, and by the encouragement which is given to ingenuity in general, that the Athenians are confessedly superior to all the other states of Greece in this respect at least. There is no science which they do not profess, and (what is much more to their credit) no art in which they do not excel. The mysterious parts of learning and the knowlege of nature have been brought to them, though imperfectly, from Ægypt. The more practical arts, such as sculpture and painting, building and musick, owe, if not their invention, yet all their grace to them ; for whether they have improved only on the rough and uncouth plans brought from thence, or themselves struck out those ideas of beauty and symmetry, their merit will be equal. It is universally agreed, that they have finished almost at the same time that they set about these arts, and in the compass of a very few years carried them to the utmost perfection they seem capable of. Thou wilt ask, perhaps, whether

whether it is on these attainments alone, that the Athenians build their reputation, and to what purposes, besides those of pomp and luxury, these refined arts serve? Thou, who hast been trained up in the discipline of the old Persians, (whose chief excellence was to shoot, and speak the truth,) wilt be apt to despise all acquirements which do not tend to make men wiser or better. I agree with thee, that these are the true, and should be the chief end of all institutions; nor are the Athenians negligent of this. They make it their business also to improve the mind, to correct the will, and to infuse sentiments of virtue and honesty into their youth. And I am the more persuaded of this, when I consider the turn and genius, the aim and actions of a young philosopher, who begins to draw the eyes and attention of the city on him. He has taken a course in his search after knowledge different from all others: while they have been hunting after it in distant climes, he has been confined to his own city and almost to his own mind; he has applied himself chiefly to know himself, and having tried as it were the shallowness of his own understanding, instead of pretending (as others do) to teach every thing, he professes for himself, and undertakes to shew others that they understand nothing. In the midst of the most plentiful feasts, he practises a temperance almost equal to that which the rules of thy order enjoin thee; and while he converses daily in the most promiscuous and free manner, he is said to preserve an innocence in his life, and a sanctity in his manners, which retirement from the world scarcely secures to others. Thou wilt not wonder, if my curiosity has led me to converse with him; nor is it difficult to have access to one who spends most part of his time in the streets and public places of this city. He received my address in the same open and easy manner he does those of all his countrymen; and by a simplicity of behaviour, and a variety of questions, which seemed to have no relation to what I proposed to him, he soon brought me

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to give up, what I had before looked on as clear and indubitable, and made my own, that I was ignorant in those very points, which before I imagined I had best understood. When he had put me out of conceit with my own opinions, I was desirous to be let into and submit to his ; but whether it was that he really (as he professed) entertained no certain ones, or whether he did not think it safe to commit them to one, who, beside his being a stranger, might not appear worthy of his confidence, he declined giving me this satisfaction, and left me neither pleased with him or myself. The mind, which takes pleasure in its searches after truth, yet is impatient, when convinced, that all its darling systems and prepossessions are false ; and I foresee, that a sage, whose life and doctrines are a constant reproach to all he converses with, will soon make his disciples desirous of freeing themselves from so impertinent a monitor. Adieu.

R.

LETTER XLIX.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES. *From Athens.*

As I find nothing more agreeable, ORSAMES, during my residence at Athens, than the conversation of intelligent men, I endeavour to inform myself on subjects of literature and ingenuity without neglecting the weightier business of my station and character. It is not long since I troubled HYDASPES with an account of some curious particulars concerning the Grecian poets and historians, which I had gathered from a careful perusal of their works, and the accurate relations of the learned. The humanity of my patron PHILEMON is never so much exerted to my advantage, as when he introduces me with his usual politeness to the familiarity of

VOL. I.

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persons

persons whose company I should have made my choice, could I otherwise have hoped for it. To the kind recommendation of my friend it is wholly owing, that I am lately admitted to the acquaintance of THUCYDIDES, a man of superior quality and wisdom, by whose means I shall extend my insight into the constitution of Greece in general, and the policy of Athens in particular. He was employed some years ago by the city in conducting a second colony of Athenians to Thurium; and though he does not engage in the administration of public affairs, he hath served in the armies of the state, and made several campaigns. I am told, he is originally possessed of a fair paternal inheritance, and is derived from a very noble family, both which are augmented by his marriage with a rich wife, the daughter of a king of Thrace. He seems however to consider these happy circumstances in life with the impartial eyes of a philosopher, and values the former only as it enables him to diffuse the effects of his benevolence; and the latter as the memory of it perpetually excites him to emulate his ancestors in virtue. At the same time, he is so far from thinking himself raised above the rest of his countrymen, that he lives with all the elegant simplicity of an Athenian, while he enjoys the opulence of a Persian satrap. His institution in the study of eloquence and philosophy hath been conformable to the nobility of his birth and fortune. In philosophy he was a scholar of ANAXAGORAS; in rhetoric, he was instructed by ANTIPHON, an orator of singular abilities, and revered by the people for his eloquence. If I may form a judgment of his sentiments in government from the tenour of his discourse, he appears least of all to approve of a democracy. The generosity of his temper makes him averse from the envy and contention of demagogues; the steadiness of his politics, from the inconstancy of popular resolutions; and the integrity of his heart, from the selfish counsels of those who are willing to acquire or maintain an authority with the multitude. He could wish
for

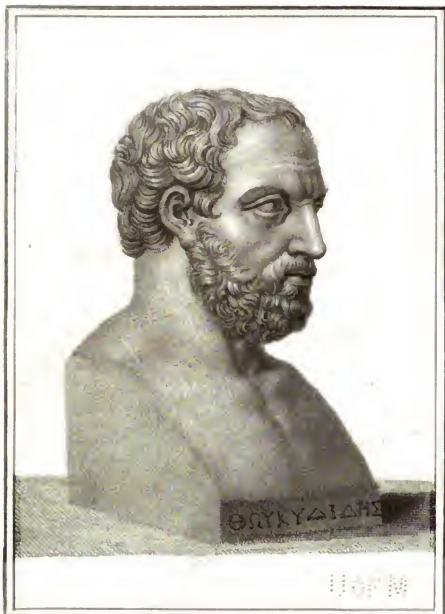
for a larger mixture of aristocracy in the Athenian commonwealth ; and yet such was his opinion of PERICLES, that has long as he continued alive and in supreme power, he used to say, " the administration was nominally democratical, but in fact monarchical." As he is pleased to indulge me in some share of his confidence, I took the liberty to ask him one day in private, " How it happened, " that he, who joins to great natural endowments a surprising compass of knowledge and long observation, had never expressed any " desire to be placed at the helm of the republick, nor had entered " into the artful management of popular assemblies ?" He answered me, " That he for bore coming into the assembly, because he would " neither be an accessary or a witness to their iniquitous proceedings : That prosperity had infatuated the minds of his unthinking " countrymen ; and the only men who ruled them, were those who " soothed them with fond hopes, enflamed them by false notions, and " put them on chimerical schemes and hazardous attempts ; whereas " he, who gave temperate advice, was injuriously branded as a " coward, and thought so ignorant as not to understand, or so malicious as to belie their power." He said, " the truest and most " shining merits were looked upon as crimes against the state ; that " they never pardoned him who served them with talents which rendered him worthy to command, and often deprived themselves of " real advantages to shun an imaginary evil. For my own part, " (continued he,) I have mingled so much of the disinterested philosopher with my republican principles, as to abhor those leaders of " party, who cross each other's counsels to the detriment of the " whole ; those flatterers, who truckle to the humour of the people " by the meanest and most slavish compliances ; those declaimers, " who drive us into strange undertakings, which their betters either " dare not oppose, or, if they do, precipitately endanger their own " safety. A prudent citizen, therefore, when persons of this kind

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" bear

" bear sway, will yield to the torrent of the times, without suffering
 " himself to be lost in the stream. He will wait for a fairer oppor-
 " tunity of engaging in the publick business, or else not engage in it
 " at all. He will not enter on the important office of a minister,
 " uncalled to it by the general voice of his country. In a word, I
 " have laid down these maxims to myself which the politicians of
 " our days seem utterly to despise, viz. that a good man should
 " be so zealous in his regards for the community, as to exclude all
 " those that are personal, while a wise man remains indifferent in his
 " choice of public or private life, but studious to adorn both. Can
 " you then wonder, (added he,) if I have rather employed myself
 " in observing or recording what passes, than in directing and go-
 " verning? And, to speak sincerely, it is with a view to the good
 " of futurity, that I am now compiling a history of these times, and
 " shall spare no expence of labour or money to procure fitting me-
 " moirs for the purpose. The Lacedæmonian archives as well as
 " the Athenian, will be ransacked, that from the collections of each
 " the series of our transactions may be more impartially laid open ;
 " and however some men shall censure the manner of my writing, yet
 " no man shall question the truth of it. For it is not a work in-
 " tended by way of ostentation to the present age, but as a monu-
 " ment of instruction to our successors, as a legacy to all posterity."

Struck with the greatness of the reply, it was impossible for me to
 forget, what I had often been told, of the generous spirit he disco-
 vered, and the memorable tears which he shed, on hearing the Muses
 of HERODOTUS recited in a celebrated feast at Athens. I considered
 this design as a consequence of the same emulation ; nor could I
 avoid, on the one hand, congratulating the generations to come on
 that admirable history, which the abilities of my friend THUCYDIDES
 will hereafter produce into the world ; nor was it unnatural to re-
 flect



Drawn by J. Day. Engr.

Engraved by M. Ben.

THUCYDIDES.

From a Bust in the Capitol.

Mich:

flect with an honest indignation on the other, that while Greece is making large strides in policy, and advancing in letters, Persia too ingloriously neglects the cultivation of both. The former, not content with her victories at Marathon and Salamis, is endeavouring to defeat us in that, which alone can immortalize the name of either: the latter, so far from being animated by a sense of her shame, to retrieve the advantages she has lost, is disregarding the judgment of futurity, and adding to their conquest by indolence. But let us hope that this, ORSAMES, may not long be our case! Let us publish an account of our actions to mankind, and not trust to the partial representation of the Greeks. Let us plead our own cause before the equitable tribunal of posterity; and though the progress of our arms hath been checked, yet let not the palm in history be taken from us. Adieu.

C.

LETTER L.

CLEANDER to GOBYRAS, *Chief Scribe, &c.* From Athens.

THE Athenians, noble scribe, are remarkable, amongst their other distinguishing qualities, for the great eagerness with which they listen after news. Thou mayest imagine, that this curiosity finds sufficient employment by an account just arrived of a second engagement between the Peloponnesian fleet and PHORMIO's squadron, in which the vast superiority of number on the side of the former, balanced by the skill and bravery of the latter, has rendered the advantage and loss nearly equal between both parties, as thou wilt be better able to judge from the following relation.

A rein-

A reinforcement of twenty sail were immediately fitted out here, at the pressing instances of PHORMIO; but, instead of being sent directly to him, were ordered to take Crete in their way, on a service of no importance. They were detained so long at that island by contrary winds, that they were not able to join him till the battle was over.

In the mean time, BRASIDAS and CNEMUS put to sea with a fleet of seventy sail well appointed, and came to an anchor at Rhium of Achaia, whilst PHORMIO and his twenty gallies were stationed at a port of the same name on the opposite shore. These two harbours form the mouth of the Crissæan gulph. The Peloponnesian commanders intended to bring the Athenians to an engagement within the gulph, before the reinforcement arrived. PHORMIO designed to avoid fighting, but, if that was not in his power, to engage them in the open sea, where the dexterity of his sailors, and the swiftness of his ships, would give him the advantage against their unweildy vessels and inexperienced seamen. After they had lain two or three days in this posture, the Peloponnesians made a motion up the gulph with their whole fleet towards Naupactus; which obliged PHORMIO, much against his will, to follow them in order to save the place, which was too weak to make effectual resistance. As soon as the admirals of the enemy saw the Athenian squadron engaged within the strait, they gave the signal to their fleet to tack about and bear down upon them, which they did with such vigour, that they drove several of the Athenian gallies against the shore, sunk some, and made many prisoners. A body of Messenian troops in the service of Athens, who were marching along the shore, behaved very bravely; for they entered the sea with their arms, and recovered some of the ships that had been taken. In another part of the action, PHORMIO
himself

himself pushed out to sea with eleven ships, and was chased by twenty Peloponnesian ones into the harbour of Naupactus. This experienced officer observing that they followed the chase very carelessly, and either out of contempt of the Athenians, or believing the victory already their own, neglected to keep their line of battle, so that some of their ships were out of sight, ordered the few gallies he had with him to turn their prows, and bear down directly on the enemy, himself leading the attack. This advantage was so well improved, that after some of the foremost Peloponnesian vessels were disabled, the rest, frightened at so unexpected a turn, were put to flight, and six of them taken. PHORMIO and BRASIDAS have both erected trophies, though neither of them can justly lay claim to the victory. The ships from Crete are since arrived, and it is said the Peloponnesian fleet is retired to Corinth. The officers who distinguished themselves most on the side of Athens, were ASOPHUS, the admiral's son, and NICIAS.

It is much censured as an error in CLEON and his party, the present managers of affairs, that they did not immediately furnish PHORMIO with a force sufficient to improve his first advantage, and remain master of the sea. In all probability, if the twenty ships had not wasted so much of their time at Crete, this must have proved a very considerable success for the Athenians. It has been a common saying amongst them on this occasion, that they are now thoroughly sensible that PERICLES is dead. The last letters from Plataea mention, that the army of the allies under the command of ARCHIDAMUS king of Sparta, being harassed out with the length of the siege, and the vigorous resistance of the garrison, have resolved to enclose the city with a strong wall, fortified with ditches and towers on both sides, to prevent as well the sallies of the inhabitants within, as the entrance of any succours from without; and that after having finished
this

this regular fortification, part of their forces will be left for the blockade of the town, and the rest dismissed.

I have now laid before thee, noble satrap, the present course of publick occurrences; nor do I neglect to inform myself, as thou enjoimest me, of the private intrigues of this city, and the secret springs that influence the councils of this active republick. The administration of affairs, since the death of PERICLES, has lain principally in the hands of a party, who may be said to delight in war; and though they have not the necessary talents for carrying on a regular and well-concerted scheme of military operations, yet they treat any one who but ventures to name the word peace in their assemblies, as an enemy to his country, and a friend to Lacedæmon. They are a set of men composed of mercenary orators, and other factious citizens, who are enriched and aggrandized by a war, that impoverishes the rest of the state. Every general is obliged to pay his court to them, and to have a band of rhetoricians to defend him against the attacks of his enemies at home, whilst he is fighting his country's battles in the field. The allies make their applications to them, to recommend their cause to the people to get their contributions lessened, or an expedition undertaken in their behalf; though the immediate service of the state perhaps is neglected, and her armies rendered useless for want of supplies. CLEON is at the head of these worthy patriots; a man the more opposite to peace, because in quiet times his own bad actions would appear, and the calumnies of others be less believed. He supports himself, not so much by the greatness of his abilities, as by the boldness of his undertakings, and the confidence of his assertions. He renders himself popular, not by the ease and humanity of his behaviour, but by the freedom and roughness of it; which is agreeable to the common sort, whom he likewise gains over to his interest by frequently relieving their necessities. He carries his

his point in the assemblies, by an over-bearing vehement sort of eloquence, accompanied with much action. There are however several who dislike his character and measures, and oppose both with great freedom: the comick writers in particular do not spare him, but set him forth in the strongest colours, that the copiousness of their invention and the severity of their satire will afford. Of late they have been employed in falling foul upon the memory of PERICLES, and repeating the plentiful collection of scandal, which the very mention of his name gives them room to display.

I cannot conclude without acknowledging thy last letter: the gracious acceptance which my services meet with, is far superior to their merits, as well as my expectations. Permit me to indulge a little pardonable vanity, in reflecting, that I enjoy the honour of being ranked amongst thy friends, and the meanest of the servants of ARTAXERXES. Adieu.

P.

LETTER LI.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER. *From Babylon.*

THOUGH the rise and preservation, CLEANDER, of every great monarchy has been owing to the arts of war, yet at the same time it is certain, no state could support itself without the necessary improvements of peace. The wisdom therefore of our constitution is in nothing more conspicuous than in the admirable care that is taken to make the culture of both mutually serve and promote each other*. Without this, the numberless forces of Persia would overrun and

* Xenoph. memorabil. lib. v. edit. Francof. p. 827. E. & p. 828.

depopulate the whole empire. But by a most exact and regular disposition in every district of the provinces, the garrisons and standing forces are maintained with very little burden to the country. The præfect of each district has a list of so many horse, shieldmen, or archers, which he is to find provision for, according to the fertility and produce of the lands within his division. ARTAXERXES himself has every thing under his own inspection; he frequently reviews the troops in one part or other of his dominions, and surveys the country at the same time, or employs those he can confide in, to do it in places more remote. By this means he knows the state of his armies, the strength of his garrisons, and the condition of the several provinces. If the præfects fraudulently withhold what nature hath plentifully bestowed, or if the land be not sufficiently cultivated as far as the soil will bear, they are liable to be complained against by the officers of the army, or those sent to inspect them, or to be discovered in the neglect of their duty by the king himself. Where naked and barren prospects are by labour and industry converted into beautiful lawns and plantations, or the face of nature is in any sort improved, the præfect of that district is sure to receive some mark of the royal munificence, and the meanest labourer to enjoy the fruits of his industry. And wherever the troops are fitly chosen, well disciplined, and handsomely equipped in their arms and other accoutrements, not only the commanding satrap, but every chiliarch and tribune, is distinguished, as he hath shewn his diligence in the faithful discharge of his trust. By this means they are always found prepared, either for a military expedition, to form an encampment, or pass in review before their sovereign. This summer a large body of forces, draughted out from several provinces, is encamped in the plains of Babylon. The natural Persians are twenty thousand, who are honoured with XERXES* for their chief, distinguished from the

* He was the prince royal of Persia.

Medes

Medes by their light targets and the fashion of their sleeves with stripes of various colours. The Median forces, a select body, amount to twenty more. Thirty thousand Assyrians with brazen helmets and linen corslets are commanded by ARSITES. The Arii and Bactrians make ten thousand, armed alike, except that the former have Median bows*; their general is BAGAPÆUS†, the emperor's son by ANDIA, a Babylonish lady, and uterine brother to PARISATIS, a gallant young prince, who hath been trained to arms under ARASPES, the brave satrap of Bactria. The Cissij, with the Sagartians, and borderers upon the Erythrean sea, constitute twenty thousand. The Sagartians and those people in the tributary divisions are reckoned to the province of Persia; the proper Persians being, as you know, exempted from all tribute‡. The Sagartians wear a brigantine of leather thongs closely entwined together, and carry nets, which they make use of in an engagement with great dexterity. The rest are armed much after the Persian manner, in scaly corslets, and with the same defensive weapons: but the habits of their chiefs are enriched with topazes from the oriental isles adjoining. Among them are a body of the Chelænophagi, whose mails are curiously formed of the shells of tortoises. SOGDIANUS has the command of five thousand Caspians and Paricanians, who make a barbarous appearance in the hides of shaggy goats, and are armed with bows and daggers. ARTASYRAS, who by OCHUS's interest was lately appointed satrap of the greater Armenia, is present with six thousand foot and four thousand horse from the territories lying at the head of the Euphrates, and between the Araxes and the Cyrus. A splendid tent was set up for OCHUS, and he is expected here with a large detachment of the Hyrcanians; but he stopped short with twenty brigades in the neighbourhood of Ecbatana, to

* Herod. Polymn. c. 65.

† Excerpt. ex Ctesia Persic. c. 48.

‡ Herod. Thal. c. 97.

prevent, as is supposed, a second rising of the Cadusians, which may be the more suspected, as the choicest part of the Median forces was draughted for this encampment. Ten thousand Syrians are quartered round MEGABYZUS's pavilion, armed with short spears, javelins, and daggers, and greaves that cover only half the leg*. Five thousand Arabians, habited in their loose mantles of Indian silk, with long bows†, are placed in the rear of the camp, that their camels may not annoy their horses. Amidst these various multitudes, the greatest regularity and order are preserved through all the ranks. The city of Babylon, which delights in shews and pomp, was much entertained with the grand parade, when ARTAXERXES went to meet his camp. The magi led the procession in their scarlet robes, carrying the holy fire upon a silver hearth. After them came the empty chariot crowned with garlands and drawn by white steeds with harnesses of gold, which is sacred to OROMASDES, and an emblem of his presence with us. A single horse came next, of the largest breed of Hyrcania, in honour to the sun, and the leaders had white garments with staffs of gold. Then a thousand of the band of Immortals, with their golden chains and vests of rich brocades set off with Indian gems, followed by the order called the Royal Kindred; after them the body-guard, who are distinguished by the golden apples upon their pikes. The chief satraps and princes of the blood attended about the person of ARTAXERXES, who rode in an ivory chariot, richly inlaid with amethysts and rubies upon silver and gold plates curiously embossed with emblematic figures. From behind, a sculptured eagle, more dazzling than the car itself, spread its wings over the monarch's head‡. A thousand spearmen closed the procession. The tent of ARTAXERXES stands conspicuous on a rising ground near the centre of the camp, with the image of the

* Herod. Polym. c. 85.

Id. c. 87.

† Quint. Curt.

sun

sun in a case of crystal over it. The ladies of the court complain of their being left out in this procession, who have in every signal expedition attended the camp. They threaten to appear soon in Amazonian dresses, and try the courage of some in distinction there, since most of the younger satraps, who were noted for their effeminate delicacy, have upon this occasion assumed a martial air. These jests have revived the memory of the ancient Sacian women, who, in the reign of their queen ZARINA, about the time of ARTIBARNAS, father to ASTYAGES, joined in a revolt of the Parthi, and extremely distressed the Medes. And some fine interludes, intermixed, after our manner, with singing and dances, have been played in the royal apartments, founded upon the story of that heroine, and the adventure of the Mede STRYAGLIUS with the Sacian lady*, whom he had thrown from her horse, and conceived such a violent passion for, that meeting with a repulse in his first addresses, he pretended to starve himself, and by that artifice worked upon the compassion of his mistress. A party of the court ladies, with the queen-mother and AMYRTIS, were lately at an entertainment in MEGABYZUS's tent, and passed through the camp in a cedar carriage with the curtains of their pavilion undrawn, attended by INTAPHERNES and five hundred of the Immortals. MEGABYZUS performs all the duties of a general, and excites an emulation among the troops in their military exercises, by his frequent presence among them. But to the great concern of all his friends, though the vigour of his mind be still the same, yet in his bodily strength he seems daily declining. APOLLONIDES of Cos, who is in great favour with ARTAXERXES, exerts his utmost skill to prolong a life so valuable to Persia. Adieu.

L.

* Ex Ctes. Pers. fragment. ap. Demetr. Phaler. in libro, qui *απερ' ἰσχυρίας* vocatur.

LETTER LII.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

I HAVE of late been engaged in some conversations with the sages of this place, which have more than once brought to my mind those delightful solitudes, where thou, abstracted from every other care and avocation, enjoyest as it were the presence of the great OROMASDES, and illuminations, which, though no less important than those vouchsafed to the favoured ZOROASTER, thou in divine conference hast communicated to me. Not many furlongs from the city, in the midst of a spacious meadow, which is almost surrounded with the clear and smooth stream of the river Ilissus, there is a stadium not so remarkable for its ornaments and grandeur, as its antiquity and situation; it was built in the early ages of this republick, and still retains its primitive rudeness and simplicity. A grove of trees coeval at least to the structure, whose trunks appear like huge pillars to support a thick and verdurous roof, are planted on one side; and through them the cool breezes, which arise from the river, and are perfumed by numberless flowers that adorn its banks, give a freshness amidst the scorching heats, which we now feel, and form a retreat the most agreeable that can be imagined. It is for this, that the philosophers of Athens with their disciples frequently exchange the Academy and Lycæum; and as I have more than once been admitted to the conferences that are held here, thou wilt not, I fancy, be displeased to partake in them also. It is true, I have sometimes been but indifferently entertained. Some of the first and highest reputation among these philosophers have little true and solid knowledge even of those sciences they profess. Many, who
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SOCRATES

From a Bust in the Capitol

set up for masters of natural truths, are either greatly ignorant of, or entirely mistake the first principles on which they are built. Others there are, who are called teachers of eloquence, but are not able to give any proof of their being so; others, who dispense out lessons of wisdom, not from any stock of their own, but founded on the authority and maxims of their ancestors. But what above all moves my indignation is, that, without any experience of the world, any insight into policy, they all take upon them to instruct their scholars in the arts of government, in the conduct of publick affairs, and the enacting of fit and necessary laws. It is true that these pretenders to science but too frequently meet here one, who, as he is much superior to them in all parts of learning, seems animated with a particular zeal to destroy their ill-grounded pretences to it. It is not unusual to see them put to a precipitate and shameful retreat by this great champion of truth; and indeed it is impossible to conceive the deep wisdom and true reasoning, that are concealed under the plainness and simplicity of the rude mechanick*. As he has a peculiar art of illustrating what he treats on, so he has also of exposing what may be on insufficient grounds admired by others. By abundance of apt comparisons, and by a most extensive induction of known and familiar topicks, he at once opens and convinces the minds of his hearers. Nor need I after this description tell thee, that I speak of SOCRATES, in whom, if there is any thing that I blame, it is his too great reserve, and his rather labouring to make those with whom he converses, unlearn what is wrong, than to instruct them in what is right. In one of our conversations one day, after he had put to flight a whole army of the sophists, and only one or two friends were left, I was led to express my surprise and concern, that he, who was so capable, and seemed so ready, to teach men true know-

* SOCRATES was bred a sculptor.

ledge,

ledge, should yet be so backward in this godlike employment. I even said, "that it seemed ungenerous, and inconsistent with his usual benevolence, to be so severe, as I had sometimes known him, on those, whose greatest fault was perhaps only to be too ready to teach, while he, who was capable of doing it, would not enter upon this province." He received my reproof with his usual humanity, and after some pause, said; "Were I really, my friend, what you would kindly suppose me, capable of instructing mankind, yet sure I am, that you and all wise men would judge the worse of me if I should venture to proclaim it. It has hitherto been the chief business of my life, to confute and shew the folly of these vain sciolists: and should I not expose myself to the contempt of those, who are so contemptible, if I should engage in their task, and take upon me to dictate on points, which I am sensible are not only out of my reach, but even beyond that of human capacity? It is true, that I have endeavoured, as far as I am able, to cultivate and improve my faculties. I own I have used my utmost industry in acquiring knowledge; and as truth and science have hitherto been, so I am persuaded they ever will be, the scope and object of my life to come. But alas! so far am I from having arrived at what I aim at, that I am daily convinced I never shall. I am satisfied, that I know nothing perfectly; the experience of each day convinces me of the folly of the conclusions I made the foregoing; and upon the maturest consideration I am brought to conclude, that the probable is all we can ever arrive at in our researches. What can I do better therefore, or how can I be more usefully employed, than in endeavouring to take men off from those idle and fruitless pursuits after certainty, which I am convinced they never will find? Nor does this hinder me from tracing out, and even depending upon some great
"and

“and fundamental points. And if thou wouldst know what it is
“that appears to me the most probable, I answer, seest thou the
“great frame of the universe, and hast thou considered the various
“and wonderful instances of wisdom and contrivance that are displayed in every part of it ; and canst thou doubt of its being the
“work of some all-wise and all-powerful cause ? Can so much
“use and beauty, so much magnificence and design, so much regularity and order, strike us on the contemplation of nature, and
“we not own the Author of nature ? Can so many beings exist,
“and there be no cause of their existence ? No, it is impossible
“not to trace and acknowledge plain and evident marks of a Deity,
“who formed and directs this wondrous machine. It must be
“that we are all under his government, that we are produced for
“some great purposes ; and when we discover, that not the most
“minute and insignificant atom, which we see, but has its uses, and
“serves its peculiar ends, we must conclude, that man, the noblest
“work of the creation, must also have his. Hence then am I led
“to inquire and consider, what are and what ought to be the great
“duties of my life. I try the extent of my own and others capacity. I endeavoured to fathom their understandings. I examine
“into the end of our actions, how they may affect ourselves or
“others. I find a light as it were and guide placed in my breast,
“which, if diligently attended to, directs me in all important occurrences. I am satisfied, that man is not born for himself only,
“but for the service of others, and that there is a law, which directs
“all to the practice of what is just, and good, and true, planted in
“every man’s breast ; that human laws only enforce this, and bind
“it upon bad men ; that the good are not influenced by them, and
“he that attends has no need of any other obligation than what
“arises from hence. Nay further, when I consider the nature and
“formation of man, and that all we learn seems to be little more
VOL. I B B “ than

“ than recollecting what we have been apprized of, I conclude; that
 “ we have existed in some other state. And if we have lived before,
 “ still it is more likely (considering the passionate desire we have
 “ after knowledge, and how impossible it is to satisfy it in this state)
 “ that we are designed for, and shall exist in, another. But I re-
 “ frain from indulging in this, which to thee may appear a vision-
 “ ary and idle speculation, however probable and rational it may
 “ seem to me.” Here he ended, and I would gladly have engaged
 him in a more particular discussion of what he had advanced.
 He, on the contrary, desired my sentiments, which, not only out
 of modesty, but prudence, thou wilt imagine I declined giving; and
 so our conversation broke up. I went away convinced, that the
 notices of the great OROMASDES are wonderfully displayed through-
 out the whole universe, and that the sublimest truths are easily dis-
 coverable, when men make a proper use of that most valuable ema-
 nation from him, *Reason*.

R.

L E T T E R LIII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. *From Heliopolis.*

THE Nile is now risen to its greatest height, and the country in
 every part fills the eye of a traveller with wonder and delight,
 and affords the most joyful prospect to the inhabitants of *Ægypt*.
 From a pyramid in this town I surveyed the distant surface, where
 lawns, and fields, and gardens lay undistinguished in one fluid plain;
 the taller forests waving in the midst of waters, and the stately piles
 of Memphis and the neighbouring towns, with the adjacent pyra-
 mids scattered like rocks and islands, to diversify the charming scene.
 You see in every place life and motion, the inhabitants passing con-
 tinually

tinually hither for business or pleasure, in boats or barges upon the water, or over the banks and causeways from town to town. The further mountains of Libya rise like a distant continent seen off at sea ; the nearer ones, that are continued along the banks of the Nile from the upper Thebais, begin here to open and spread away to the East, and present the most ravishing landscape of hills and precipices, intermixed with lawns and woods, where the cattle graze during the inundation. My happening to come down from Syene, about the time that the banks were to be laid open, contributed much, with the natural cheerfulness of the country, to render my tour agreeable. Upon this occasion there are certain ceremonies observed with great solemnity and rejoicing : and the præfects of the greater districts usually visit all the chief towns through the several nomes they preside over, at the cutting of the banks, and are present at the solemn festivals held upon that occasion ; which they easily may, a regular custom being observed of beginning from the veins of the Nile, and so proceeding gradually down the country as the inundation directs them. Above Thebes seldom any but the priests themselves attend. Of this custom PHARNUCES took no notice, when I parted from him to see the cataracts, and thought to have passed unobserved the whole way back to Heliopolis ; but about the midway to Thebes upon my return, at a town called Cnubis, which is named from the same god CNEPH, who is worshipped at Syene, I met a splendid galley, which waited there for my reception to conduct me to PHARNUCES. When I had landed at the palace, which fronts to the water, he, saluting me with his usual civility, said, you are returned, ORSAMES, very opportunely to see the ceremonies that are performed at the cutting of the banks ; and I shall accompany you myself part of your way, if you will not think it too great a delay to grace my parade. This year the river is risen sixteen cubits, which promises a plentiful increase. The next morning the galleys

gallies were early before the palace ; and having taken a short repose, we set out not long after sun-rising. As soon as the oars touched the water, a concert struck up of Persian and Ægyptian musick, and every thing contributed to make our passage delightful ; the serenity of the air, the brightness of the morning, and the calm surface of the water reflecting the early beams*, and interspersed with flowers of the lotus, resembling a bed of lilies. In every place that we stopped at, a black bull with much ceremony was sacrificed to the Nile. We arrived the day after at Coptos, an ancient emporium for Indian and Arabian commodities†. The city stands a little removed from the Nile, but has its keys and warehouses to the river. Here Isis ‡, they say, received the first tidings of the death of OSIRIS, and cut off a lock of her hair for grief, which gave occasion to the city being called Coptos, implying in the Ægyptian language *Privation*. From this town they transport their merchandize by camels to the Portus Albus, for Arabia and the Indian isles. Southward from which, along the shore of the Arabian gulf, are the famous mountains where they dig for carbuncles. Below Coptos, on the opposite side, stands This, the metropolis once of a very powerful dynasty, but now comprehended in the lower Thebais. And here we could discern at a distance the ruins of Abydos§, one of the royal seats of MEMNON. Next is the town of VENUS and the city of the Crocodiles. Then on the eastern side Chemmis, which boasts of PERSEUS's original : his temple is there encompassed in a grove of palm trees, with a stately portico of large massy columns of porphyrite ; in which are two Colossal statues, and the image of PERSEUS within¶. The priests pretend, that the deity sometimes manifests himself to them, which is always taken for a good omen, and forebodes great plenty to Ægypt. DANAUS and LYNCEUS,

* Herod. Euterp. c. 92.

† Strabo.

‡ Plin. lib. v. c. 9.

§ Herod. Eut. c. 91.

¶ Plut. de Isid. & Osir.

who

who went into Greece, were, they say, of Chemmis; and from them they reckon the descent of PERSEUS, who coming into Ægypt to bring thither the Gorgon's head out of Libya, visited that place, having been informed by his mother of his relation to it, and instituted there those athletick games to her honour and his own, which were also celebrated in Greece; and the two Colossal statues before the temple are his great progenitors DANAUS and LYNCEUS. The particular ceremonies which I saw practised every where, would be as tedious to relate, as the various discourse our voyage furnished about the causes of the Nile's inundation. THALES the Milesian, mentioned in one of your letters, who is remembered here with great veneration, accounted for it by the Etesian winds blowing against the mouths of the Nile at this season. But though that does not seem to be a sufficient cause, since the same would probably then happen to other rivers, where the like winds are known to blow; yet whatever other causes may supply such quantity of water, whether melted snow from the mountains of Æthiopia when the sun comes over them, or great rains falling in remote countries, yet these winds may contribute to make the overflow more regular and lasting, as they are a balance to the waters, and prevent them from running off into the sea, till they have sufficiently fertilized the land. At the ancient city of Antæus I parted from PHARNUCES, who desired that one of his barges might attend me to Memphis: but as I could no longer enjoy the same agreeable company, I desired to proceed the rest of my journey in a more private manner. The most extraordinary part of the ceremonies I saw performed at Nilopolis, a city at the lower end of the island of the Heracleotic nome*. While the priests were sacrificing to the Nile, we saw of a sudden, six youths in a strange dress of a sea-green colour advancing towards us, pre-

* Videsis Serv. in Georg. lib. iv. v. 364. speluncisque lacus clausos.

tended

tended to be just come up from a deep chasm in the adyta of the temple. They joined in the solemnities, singing the praises of the Nile; and reciting the benefit that their country received from the overflow of its waters; which was to them* their land and water, their lakes and sea. Then the priests solemnly told us, that these their sons were in their infancy delivered to the nymphs, and had been educated by them ever since, and bid them declare what they had learnt in those subterranean abodes concerning the nature of the Nile. The youths, who were instructed in their answers, gave a fabulous account concerning the internal structure of the earth, and described to us lakes and oceans that are below the same, as above the surface; and the great rivers that are lost under-ground, and by hidden channels in the depths of the earth conveyed from place to place, till at length they rise again in distant climates. And thus they affirmed, that they themselves had seen the Nile in a contrary hemisphere†, removed from ours by a whole diameter of the globe; and that the river losing itself in a great gulf, was carried through various ducts and windings within the vast abyss, till at last it rose again, and gushed out at the two rocks by Syene, dividing its streams from thence to Æthiopia and Ægypt. I considered this as a philosophical conjecture of the priests, who are much puzzled themselves about the source of the Nile, worked up with these fabulous circumstances to disguise their ignorance, and impose upon the vulgar. From Nilopolis I could discern the towers and obelisks of Memphis, and the summit of the temple of the sun, which crowns this city, and stands conspicuous above the other buildings, though Heliopolis and Memphis both are raised by artificial moles a great height above the waters. The mythological doctrines about the divinity of the Nile, which I have learnt among the priests of

* Achilles Tatius.

† Pompon. Mela, c. 10.

this

this college, are no less strange and confused, than those about its origin just before-mentioned*. Nile they call OSIRIS, and the land Isis; and the sultry heat, which would destroy the fruits of the earth, unless the soil were fertilized by the inundation, they symbolize under the name of TYPHON. NEPHE is the highlands, which the floods of the Nile seldom reach, and is said to be TYPHON's wife, because they are commonly parched with heat. If the floods of the Nile happen at any time to reach these highlands, then there commonly grow some few water plants caused by the inundation, and these they reckon an uncommon product, and call them ANUBIS. And they hint all this in the following fable; they say OSIRIS begat of his wife Isis a legitimate child called ORUS, and that he committed adultery with NEPHE the wife of TYPHON, and had by her the bastard ANUBIS. Thus I may call the religion of the priests in general a mythological collection or system of ancient stories, poetically disguised, and applied under different acceptations, to allegorize the several phænomena of nature. Adieu.

L.

LETTER LIV.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

THE Athenians are scarcely recovered from the greatest consternation they have been in during the whole course of the war. Whilst they enjoyed an imaginary security, and fancied that the Peloponnesian allies were retired into winter quarters; an enterprize was formed, which had nearly proved their destruction, almost be-

* Plutar. de Isid. & Osir.

fore

fore they could perceive the blow was struck. It was nothing less than a design to surprize the port Pyræus, their great arsenal and harbour, which, by a strange negligence, was unfurnished with gallies to meet an invader, or a chain to keep them from entering. The first circumstance which made them suspect their danger, was an advice brought them, that a large body of marines was marched over land from Corinth to Nisæa, a port of the Megaræans, just opposite to the Pyræus; and that forty gallies were ready to be launched there upon the first order. But as in popular assemblies, the multiplicity of opinions that are started tends rather to confound than direct their counsels, they spent their time in debating what the design of the enemies should be, when they ought to have been preparing to oppose it. The Peloponnesian fleet in the mean time, instead of sailing towards the Pyræus, according to their first scheme, turned off to Salamis, surprized a fort, took three guard-ships, and wasted the island. This alteration of their measures, whether occasioned by a contrary wind, or some dissensions among their generals, proved the safety of the Athens, who being alarmed to the highest degree by the signals of danger made from Salamis, put a strong garrison in Pyræus, and fitted out some gallies with all haste, with which they sailed to observe the motions of their enemies. The Peloponnesians being informed of those preparations, and not thinking themselves strong enough to venture an engagement, returned to Nisæa. Now the danger is past, the Athenians are busily employed in shutting up the entrance of the harbour with a chain, and fitting out some ships to keep guard without.

The siege of Platæa is turned into a blockade; the Peloponnesians have drawn lines round the city, which are looked upon to be a very fine piece of fortification. They consist of a double enclosure; one towards Platæa, to oppose the sallies of the besieged, and another

ther towards the country, to prevent the Athenians from throwing in supplies. The distance between these inclosures, which is sixteen feet, is taken up with towers, where the soldiers employed in the blockade are quartered. There is also a deep ditch filled with water, that is carried round the work.

Thou must already be informed of the war just broke out between PERDICCAS, king of Macedon, and SITALCES king of Thrace, in which the Athenians are auxiliaries to the latter; and have engaged to send a fleet to support him in his project of setting AMYNTAS, the son of PHILIP, brother to PERDICCAS, on his uncle's throne. The Thracian monarch has raised a very numerous army, not less than one hundred and fifty thousand men, out of his own subjects, and the nations his allies. He is marched at the head of it to invade Macedon, carrying along with him the young AMYNTAS, whom he treats as a king. PERDICCAS, sensible of his inability to keep the field against so superior a force, has thrown the best of his infantry into his strongest places, and contents himself with harassing the enemy, defending the passes, and laying waste the country, to deprive them of subsistence by means of his cavalry, which are excellent. SITALCES has notwithstanding made a considerable progress already. WOMENE, a frontier town, which ventured to stand a siege, he carried by storm; and several others, as MYGDONIA, GRISTONIA, and ANTHEMUS, have surrendered without opposition, out of regard to the memory of PHILIP, whose inheritance they once were. The Athenians think it a very seasonable and useful diversion; for they are well assured, that the Macedonian king was on the point of entering a second time into the confederacy against them, if this war had not reduced him to a state of self-defence.

I am next, noble scribe, to open to thee an affair, which I enter upon with no small reluctance, as well upon account of the person it concerns, whose fortunes, honour, and life will be nearly affected by what I shall lay before thee, as because I am sensible, how unwilling the humanity of thy temper renders thee to reveal what must prejudice another, and how strongly at the same time thy singular fidelity must be moved at any act of treachery in those that approach the sacred person of the king. To detain thee no longer in suspense, I have discovered a treasonable correspondence of SACAS, the eunuch, chamberlain to the women's apartment, which I came to the knowledge of in the following manner: Upon PERICLES's death, the papers and letters relating to publick affairs, which he had in his possession, were ordered by a decree of the senate to be deposited in the archives of the state. I found means to obtain a sight of them from the scribe of the assembly, in whose hands they were deposited; and thou mayest imagine how surprised I was, to discover amongst them a correspondence between PERICLES and SACAS, which began the year after the peace made with CIMON, and continued ever since with little interruption. Thou canst remember, that soon after that peace was signed, the Athenians sent ambassadors to the Persian court, who, as it appears from these letters, engaged this unfortunate eunuch in the interest of Athens. He makes strong professions in his letters, that nothing could have engaged him in the service, but the remembrance of his Grecian extraction; for thou knowest he was stolen from the coast of Eubœa by Phœnician pirates, who infested the Ægean sea. His letters chiefly turn upon the news and ordinary occurrences of the court; but there is no one point which he inculcates more strongly, than the advantages which Greece may gain by exciting the Grecian provinces to revolt, and the facility of putting any such project in execution. He represents, that
to

to erect principalities in the heart of the Persian dominions, under the protection of the Grecian states, would be the surest barrier for the latter against any attempt of the former: that most of the governors would want very little encouragement to set up for themselves; some conscious of their own mal-administration, others incited from motives of disappointed ambition, or private injuries: that the people, harassed with taxes, and groaning under an oppressive government, would readily join in the revolt; especially if fair offers of liberty and Grecian protection were laid before them. He names ARGESTES, the late governor of Lydia, and MAZEAS, the governor of Phrygia, as particularly inclined to revolt: that the latter he was well acquainted with, and knew that five hundred talents, and a squadron of Athenian ships, would at any time bring him into the field. In one of his letters he uses the following remarkable expressions: "When once the fire of sedition is kindled, and blown up into a flame, it will spread from one province to another, from the frontiers to the centre of the empire. The Medes themselves may perhaps make a bold struggle to recover the monarchy of Asia; for I do not say it without good foundation, many of our satraps cannot forget that the blood of PHRAORTES and ASTYAGES runs in their veins." The traitor, not contented with disclosing the counsels of Persia, would involve the whole empire in blood and confusion, and overturn the throne of that prince, by whose goodness his fortunes were rendered not only easy but splendid, and himself raised from a state of servitude to a station near the royal person. The execrable treason of Sacas, illustrious minister, should be punished with the most exemplary severity, and transmitted down to our posterity in the same striking manner with the practices of ARTHIMUS of Zelis against Athens. That subtle emissary was sent into Greece with large sums of money to foment the divisions of Athens and Sparta; but his intrigues being
c c 2
discovered,

discovered, a brazen column was erected in the citadel of this city, and the following inscription engraven upon it by a decree of the people :

“ ARTHMIUS of Zelis, the son of PYTHONAX, is declared infamous and accursed, a publick enemy of Athens and her allies, for having brought the gold of Media into Peloponnesus ; and let all his posterity be involved in this execration.”

P.

L E T T E R L V.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS.

I ENGAGED lately in conversation with an Athenian, on the subject of the extraordinary victories obtained by Greece over XERXES and his generals. Surely, said I, there must be some secret enchantment in the sound of liberty, which could inspire a handful of men with resolution enough to oppose, and even defeat, the formidable millions of Asia. A free people, answered he, will always borrow courage from despair. In that important juncture, the Grecians had nothing to expect but from their own valour, and every thing to fear from the power of their enemies. Inured from their infancy to the toils of war, and the cultivation of a barren soil, they were easily enabled, from a sort of constitutional vigour, to overcome the effeminate voluptuaries of the East. Well educated in an honest simplicity of manners, they despised and bore up against the terrible menaces of oppression. An undaunted greatness of mind is incompatible with servile restraint or timorous dependance, and the name of country cannot warm the hearts of those who enjoy none. What reason has a slave to be prodigal of life ? Does the event of
a battle,

a battle, decisive to the interests of his lord, grow doubtful? Unconcerned for the issue of the day, he either surrenders to the enemy at discretion, or endeavours to fly from the danger. As he has no reputation to lose, he considers that he has none to hope for. He is sensible, that he exposes himself only for the security of a tyrant; nor can he expect those rewards which are the proper attendants on virtue. To such an one, a change of governors seems absolutely indifferent, nay, rather desirable; since he may entertain thoughts of bettering his condition under a new master, from the impossibility that it can ever be altered for the worse under any. But who is he that can rightly be prodigal of life? It is the inhabitant of a commonwealth, one jealous of his fame and his freedom, and justly preferring death with honour to life with ignominy. As he is an happy man, the apprehension of a change alarms him; he prudently guards against the approach of it, and bravely defends his own and the publick welfare in opposing it. He then becomes a benefactor to the state, and the gratitude of the state is his due; a gratitude unmingled with the base alloy of envy, and flowing from the hearts of its citizens. The subjects of the king of Persia—Methinks, said I, interrupting him, I know your sentiment before you utter it; but will not the munificence of the king of Persia toward the vassals who distinguish themselves in his service, make amends for liberty, and prove as strong an inducement to the laudable exercise of valour? Besides this, the awe of his power is a spur to action, no where to be found in a free republick.—You are mistaken, answered he; laws, as they are steady and uniform, command a more sacred reverence than arbitrary power. The Greeks know what penalties they incur in offending against the constitution of their country: the Asiatics are in a precarious subjection to the humour of a master; and those obey with pleasure, but these with reluctance. It was not intended by providence, that the human

human race should suffer itself to be loaded with the shackles of oppression ; and the tempers of a people must be long and painfully broken to it, before they can be able to bear it ; for nature in this, as well as other instances, is apt to recoil stubbornly on the man who warps it. True valour is only the companion of liberty ; hence is it, that the Grecians in the field of battle are animated by an eagerness to defend their dearest possessions, which raises their courage, in the very crisis when it is most wanted. The slaves of Persia are pressed on to fight by the iron rod of arbitrary chastisement, which extinguishes every spark of their courage, while they are engaging in a scene of action that requires their utmost. In a word, the fear of punishment can never maintain its ground against the generous enthusiasm of freedom ; since it is not the power of a prince which can force, but it is every man's zeal for his own preservation, which must excite to the efforts of valour. Lives there a Grecian insensible that the interest of individuals is contained in that of the whole ? No, and it is the sense of this truth which puts every individual on contributing to secure the whole. This principle, CLEANDER, is more extensive in its influence, than the most powerful monarch of the earth ; and the spirit of liberty will exert itself to defend the enjoyments of liberty.—Here my Athenian ended, and I made no reply. The blood rose into my countenance upon hearing his reproaches : I was vexed at his disregard for the constitution of Persia, but afraid to betray my peculiar attachment to it. I excused my confusion, however, by telling him, that I had forgot some business, which was the cause of it, and appointed to give him another meeting. Forgive, dearest HIPPIAS, the weakness of thy brother, if he was much troubled at the severity of these reflections ; yet why should he blame their severity, when, alas ! he had more reason to be troubled at the truth of them ? Adieu.

From Athens.

C.

LETTER LVI.

CLEANDER to HIPPIAS.

THE next day I saw my friend again, and we resumed the subject of liberty. If I mistake not, said I to him, you seemed to think, the last time I conversed with you, that a man of merit could never be sure of his reward under a monarch; that he was in a precarious subjection, as you expressed it, to the humour of a master: but can any thing be more capricious than the favour of a popular state? In Athens, let an honest citizen have done any extraordinary service to-day, he knows not but he may be banished for it to-morrow. And forasmuch as the mind of a multitude is more flux and variable than the temper of a prudent prince, a dependance on the esteem of the former must be much more uncertain, than a confidence in the goodness of the latter: besides, the jealousies and particular interests of private persons will frequently make a great impression on the inclinations of a whole community. Is the military glory of THEMISTOCLES to be disgraced, the political wisdom of PERICLES despised, or the upright integrity of ARISTIDES reviled? The whimsical *many*, who weigh none of their resolutions in the scale of reason, fall naturally in with the proposition. These admired ministers are degraded, and exiled from their country. For what? To make room for the very dregs and refuse of the people; to admit mere demagogues instead of able politicians, and to exchange the true prudence and sound eloquence of the one, for the shallow schemes and false oratory of the other.—The law of ostracism, answered he, which you would insinuate to be so baneful to the Athenian

nian interests, is a very excellent and wise institution, and may be considered as a strong bulwark to defend and protect the purity of a republican government. It is not lightly nor wantonly put in execution, since there must be at least six thousand citizens concurring to the punishment. Equality is the very life of a commonwealth; and you must allow, that by the maxims of a jealous state some alarm may reasonably be taken at superior merit. A soul so elevated is thought incapable of moderation, and a desire of glory so passionate is hardly to be distinguished from a dangerous ambition. The Athenians have always been desirous of curbing those who have pushed themselves too forward; of reducing them into the same rank with their countrymen, from which perhaps they were at first unavoidably advanced by the pre-eminence of their characters, or the necessity of the times. They remember the tyranny of PISISTRATUS and his sons, who were formerly no more than plain citizens on a level with the rest: they hold always in view the fate of Ephesus and other Grecian colonies: they bear in memory the aspiring temper of PAUSANIAS in Lacedæmon; and how were it possible to divine, but that THEMISTOCLES, ARISTIDES, CIMON, and PERICLES, would embroil their city in dissension, and treat it in the same manner? This kind of banishment hath nothing shameful or dishonourable; it is not termed the punishment of iniquity, but is in fact the depression of exalted power. It may be styled a gentle mitigation of envy; for by fixing this disgrace upon a supreme officer in the commonwealth, the sting of malice can injure him no farther, and the arrows of hatred, which were pointed at him, lose their force. It is a sure method of quieting the minds of the people, and prevents them from proceeding to measures of more violence against the exile. He is suffered to enjoy his estate without forfeiture; he possesses the rights and privileges of a citizen, with hopes, in the interim, of being re-established in authority. Thus thou mayest observe,

observe, that a man is not at once discarded by this law from the protection of his country ; none of the links which attach him to her interest are broken ; he need not therefore resort for succour to the resolutions of despair. Hence it is, that the persons whose names I have recited, never entered into any unjust confederacies against their native Athens, but on the contrary preserved an unshaken fidelity in its service. Again, this custom of ostracism hath a further good consequence, that it effectually secures us from civil war and bloodshed. Are there several who struggle at the same time for superiority ? Do they endeavour to distract the commonwealth by different parties ? There seems no way so effectual to deliver the constitution from destruction, as the sending those out of its bosom, who can lay no restraint on their ambition. Hence the frame of the republic is entire ; for, from the apprehension of this law, our considerable citizens apply all their abilities to increase the prosperity of the state, instead of supporting their personal power ; they strive to aggrandize that, and their emulation is by this means converted to laudable pursuits. If the people take offence at their conduct, they are dismissed for a term of years in the way already mentioned. They have time given them to reflect coolly on their rashness, and instruct themselves, from the feeling lessons of experience, in the vanity of every competition, except that which every honest man should engage in ; I mean contending, who shall most contribute to the welfare of their country.—Yes, replied I, interrupting him, I understand what you mean. The enemies of a great man are pleased to honour the unworthy ends of their malice with the name of political wisdom ; and the people of Athens are so good as to indulge them in saying they were afraid of his ambition, when in truth they were envious of his reputation. However, to do you justice, you have urged more on behalf of the law, than I ever yet heard, or than I believed the matter would bear. But I beseech you, what

suspicion could you possibly entertain of **THEMISTOCLES**, who had done so much to save the common liberties of Greece ; who is even thought to have poisoned himself in the court of **ARTAXERXES**, because he would not engage in any enterprize to the prejudice of his country ? What umbrage could the generosity of **CIMON** give to the Athenians, who seems to have been so strongly touched with the principles of benevolence, that he would have scorned to raise his own power on the ruins of a free republick ? And what could you fear from the sanctity of **ARISTIDES**, who administered the money of all Greece with that disinterestedness which becomes a man intrusted with the treasures of another ; with that diligence which one usually exercises in the management of one's own affairs ; who gained love and esteem in that office, whic his generally exposed to odium ? Happy Athens ! that couldst find a good man zealous in thy service, after the banishment of **ARISTIDES**, with whom goodness itself was exiled ! Surely when so many, and I may say only virtuous, ministers have suffered by the law of ostracism, it is high time to abolish this wretched tool of faction and sedition. A tree may be judged of from the fruit that it produces, and a law may be known by the effects derived from it.—Without doubt, interposed he, there is truth in what you say, but it is truth carried too far. No law can be made to suit every particular case. The legislator must consult for that, which upon the whole is right. The wisest institutions are often attended with inconveniences ; and can you wonder, that the best law should sometimes be followed by the worst mischiefs ?—No, returned I with some warmth, no mischiefs are to be wondered at in that state, where a man's merit, instead of gaining him the love of his citizens, recommends him to nothing but disgrace. Good heavens ! can there be a surer sign of universal frenzy in a commonwealth, than the punishing of great virtues with a severity only due to the basest of vices ; and rewarding high services
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and the noblest achievements with such black unthankfulness ? Are ye not ashamed to punish this crime by law, wherever it is found in private persons, and yet permit the imputation to remain upon the publick ? Could your state be tried by any other city, and called to an account for its usage of these excellent patriots, your subtilties woul dstand you in no stead, nor could your orators invent an answer. At present indeed you are secure from the censure or resentment of the illustrious shades, who were injured by your ancestors. No murmurs of complaint are heard amongst them ; but, notwithstanding their tongues are silenced by the necessity of the grave, all ages and nations will agree to curse the barefaced ingratitude of Athens. Adieu.

From Athens.

C.

End of the third Year of the Peloponnesian War.

A. M. 3576. First Year of the 88th Olympiad.

The fourth Year of the Peloponnesian War.

L E T T E R LVII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Athens.*

IN a former letter*, noble scribe, I laid before thee some account of the three chief branches of the Athenian constitution, the senate of five hundred, the assembly of the people, and the Areopagus. The subject is so far from being exhausted, that I shall proceed to give thee a further view into the nature of their civil government, and the different jurisdictions of the magistrates. Thou must have already observed, that the form of all these republican constitutions is complex, and the legislative as well as executive power divided into a great number of hands, in order to preserve that equality of conditions, and rotation of authority, which they look upon as the basis and chief security of their liberties.

The nine Archons, with all the other magistrates of the state, enter upon their respective charges the first day of the month Hecatombæon, which begins the year, and is celebrated with solemn sacrifices, and all other expressions of rejoicing.

* Letter xiii.

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The Archons are elected by lot ; but before they are admitted to the exercise of their offices, are obliged to undergo a double examination in the senate and forum, and to take a very strict oath in the royal portico. The first in the commission, who by way of pre-eminence is called the Archon, gives name to the year, determines in all causes of wills and legacies, and regulates the diversions of the theatre. To the second, (who probably in memory of their kings is styled Basileus,) the care of religion, the conduct of the priests, and the inspection of the Eleusinian mysteries are committed. The Polemarchus, or general, who is the third, has under his management the discipline of the troops, and the care of the strangers residing at Athens, over whom he exercises a kind of judicial authority. Six go under the common title of Thesmothetæ, and are the guardians of the laws. It is their duty to see, that none are enacted but such as conduce to the publick good. All controversies in matters of trade fall under their cognizance, and they have the honourable distinction of registering publick leagues and contracts. If either of the three principal magistrates, by reason of his youth, is less skilled in the laws and customs of his country, it is usual for him to chuse two persons of age, experience, and reputation, as his assistants, who are called Paredroi. The Nomothetæ are a thousand in number. Their office is from time to time to inspect the old laws ; and if they find any that are grown obsolete, contradictory, or useless, to lay the matter before the people for their determination. The Strategoi, or generals of their armies, are ten in number, one out of every tribe. They have each a day of command in their turns. I will not enter into a tiresome detail of the other magistracies amongst the Athenians : it is sufficient to say, that they are very numerous, and share amongst them the different branches of power, from the care of the publick revenues to that of regulating the
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the women's apparel, and providing lights and torches at publick entertainments.

At the end of the year, the magistrates, who go out of office, are obliged to give in a strict account of their conduct to the people. The Areopagus, the Senate, the Trierarchs, in short, every publick officer who is either chosen by lot in the temple of THESEUS, or voted for by the extension of hands in the assemblies of the people, is obliged to undergo a severe examination of his behaviour, before he is entitled either to any honorary mark of distinction, or reward for his services. And what is much stronger, the law enjoins, that till he has performed this duty, he shall not be permitted to consecrate his patrimony to religious uses, make any offering to the gods, or be adopted into another family, or even dispose of his effects by will. In a word, the accountable magistrate can no longer be said to enjoy the property of his possessions, but is actually suspended from a power of disposing of them, till it appears that he has acquitted himself like a good citizen in the services committed to his care.

There is nothing deserves more attention in the Athenian constitution, than the nature of their courts of justice, and the manner of their judiciary process. Besides what I formerly mentioned of the Areopagus, I shall here add some further particulars relating to it, and shall conclude with a brief account of their other tribunals. The judges of the Areopagus have three stated meetings every month; when they are met, they divide themselves into different committees, to each of which a certain number of causes are assigned by lot. They use this method of proceeding, that every one of the judges, being ignorant what particular cause will be referred to his determination, may lie under no bias from interest or corruption. Before
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the trial begins, the plaintiff and defendant by solemn oaths call the gods to witness the sincerity of their proceedings. The former is placed upon a silver stool, called the stool of *Injury*; the latter upon another, called the stool of *Immocence*. Then the pleadings begin, which the parties sometimes compose themselves, but generally employ some orator to place their arguments in the most advantageous light. They are limited as to the time of speaking, and are tied down to state only the plain matter of fact, and reason from it, without using either rhetorical embellishments to amuse, or moving expressions to raise the compassion of the judges. After the cause has been fully heard, the judges give their opinions: those, who acquit the defendant, cast their votes into a brazen urn; those, who condemn him, cast theirs into one of wood. When the suffrages are equal, the side which is favourable to the prisoner is always taken. If the case is not capital, he names himself the punishment which he thinks he has deserved, and the judges determine it from his opinion. The sentences of this court have always been held in the highest veneration, for their exact conformity to the laws; and its members are in such repute for wisdom and integrity, that foreign states have submitted their differences to their arbitration; particularly the Messenians made that offer to the Spartans, when those two states were at variance. The Athenians themselves say, that let any one of an irregular dissolute course of life be admitted into this court, he immediately lays aside his former vicious inclinations, and is adopted as it were into the virtues, as well as the number, of that venerable tribunal. Besides the Areopagus, the Athenians have four other courts, which take cognizance of capital offences, called the Palladian, the Delphinian, the Prytanean, and the Phreatian. The first of these was rendered by DRACO superior to the Areopagus, but SOLOON afterwards lessened its power. The number of judges is fifty-one. The Delphinian tribunal sit in the temple of the Delphick Apollo,
and

and try those murders wherein the fact is owned, but the defence alleges that the laws gave the accused a power of committing it, as in the case of adultery. The Prytaneum is of a very odd constitution; and thou wilt imagine I am not in earnest, when I tell thee of what nature the causes are which come before them. If a piece of wood or stone, a sword, in short any thing inanimate, kills a man either by accident or the direction of an unknown hand, it is tried before this court, and upon conviction ordered to be cast out of the territories of Athens. The Phreatian court is so called from an ancient hero, and determines the causes of strangers who fly out of their own country for murder, and are apprehended within the limits of the Athenian state.

These are the courts of judicature for criminal causes. Those for civil are in number five: but I shall not trouble thee with an account of any but the *Helizæ*; so called from its being an open place, and exposed to the sun. The judges of this court are appointed by lot out of the body of the people, and their number varies according to the exigency of affairs, being sometimes reduced to fifty, and at others increased to an hundred. The oath they take is very solemn; they swear by JUPITER, NEPTUNE, and CERES, to give sentence according to the laws and the decrees of the people and senate of Athens, to maintain the present constitution, to take no bribes, to hear both sides impartially, and to suffer no man to be elected into any office who has not given in his accounts. The manner of their judicial proceeding is as follows: after the cause has been registered in the court by the proper officer, and a day appointed for an hearing, the indictment of the plaintiff is read by a publick crier; then the defendant may endeavour to waive entering upon the merits of the case, by putting in one of these three pleas; first, that the time wherein the accusation ought to have been preferred was elapsed; secondly,

secondly, that the sickness of himself or principal witnesses rendered it impossible for him to make a proper defence; or lastly, that he could retort the indictment preferred against him upon his adversary. If these pleas are either not offered or not allowed, the cause proceeds in the usual course. That the time of the court may not be unnecessarily taken up, an hour-glass of water limits the orations of each. When the pleadings are over, the judges give sentence, by casting beans into two urns, which are opened, and a magistrate stands with a rod in his hand to number the beans, and decides as they come out. The cause is no sooner determined, than a tablet containing the nature of it, and the names of the parties, which, during the time of its being in suspense, hangs up in a public place, called the heroes' statues, is ordered to be taken down. The judges deposit their sceptres, the badges of their office, at the temple of *Lycus*, and receive the reward of two or three oboli for their service.

From this general view of the Athenian constitution in its most distinguished branches, I believe thou wilt concur with me in opinion, that were its parts less complex, and the whole modelled into a narrower compass, it would be not only more perfect, but more likely to be durable. The number of the courts of judicature in particular is a great burden to the state, as they tend to break the course of justice, and render the progress of it expensive and troublesome. Many of the poorer sort procure themselves to be elected into these tribunals for the sake of the oboli that are paid them when they have discharged their office. Such arbitrators inflame every trifling difference, instead of reconciling it, and add fuel to the litigious and quarrelsome temper of their countrymen. It were to be wished, that the wisdom of their judges was equal to that of their laws; but an account of them I reserve for the subject of another letter. Farewel.

P.

LETTER LVIII.

GOBYRAS to CLEANDER. *From Susa.*

THY last dispatch, as it concerns us very nearly," adds likewise in the highest degree to the merit of thy services; and the speedy return we make to it from hence will convince thee, that the affair and its consequences are esteemed of singular importance. Thy letter by the king's direction, was laid before the supreme council of seven, which thou knowest is composed of ARTÆUS, president of the tribunal of justice; ARIMASPES the Archimagus; MEGABYZUS; TERIBAZUS, treasurer of Persia; ASPATHINES, master of the posts; INTAPHERNES, and myself. The remarkable manner in which thou camest to the knowledge of this treasonable correspondence, and the particulars which thou hast extracted from the letters themselves, left us no room to doubt of thy intelligence; and therefore we laid it as our unanimous opinion before the king, that the traitor should be immediately apprehended. At the hour of shutting the palace-gates, a party of eunuchs belonging to the guard of the women's apartments arrested SACAS, and secured his papers. Upon examining them it appeared, that since the death of PERICLES he had destroyed the papers that passed between them; there remained only a few letters from MAZEUS, but in them was sufficient evidence to convict him. For in one he expressly calls SACAS the *Friend of Athens*; and in another, desires him to transmit to PERICLES the terms on which he would rise in arms against his sovereign. He was examined the next day before the tribunal of justice, but behaved with a sullen reserve, till the severity of torture drew from him a confession of his perfidious practices. He would never
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be induced to say, that any other person was concerned with him, except one slave, whom he had sent twice with letters to Athens, and poisoned at his return to prevent a discovery. His usual manner of conveying his dispatches was, to send them enclosed to a merchant of Athens, one PHILO, under a pretence that they were commissions from the ladies of the palace to purchase Grecian curiosities. After so full a confession, and the written testimony of MAZEUS's letters, he was sentenced to suffer capital punishment, after the laws of Persia, and condemned to the Boat*. But in the night that preceded the day appointed for his execution, the queen-mother, from whose slave he was first advanced to a low office in the palace gardens, made very pressing instances that his life should be spared, and himself condemned only to a perpetual imprisonment at Cyrra upon the Red Sea. Several ladies of the palace, particularly ARSINOE, the fair Damascan, united their interests to her's; and our monarch, divided between the respect which he always pays to the least request of his mother, and the prevalence which love has over the most generous natures, on one hand, and the safety of his empire, and the inviolable observance of justice, on the other, has ordered the execution to be respited. However, the ministers continue to press earnestly, that the laws may take their course; and it is urged, that the punishment of SACAS may be a

* The punishment of the boat was peculiar to the Persians, and of a very strange nature. They took two boats framed exactly to fit and answer each other. The malefactor who suffered was laid down upon his back in one of them, and covered with the other, in which were holes cut big enough for his head and eyes to appear at. Then they offered him food, which they compelled him to eat by pricking his eyes. The drink they gave him was a mixture of honey and water, pouring it not only down his throat, but over his face, which being kept turned towards the sun, and besmeared with this potion, was always covered with vast numbers of flies and other insects. In this teasing and painful condition the criminal generally languished several days before he expired, and afforded a most noisome spectacle to the by-standers. Note by the translator.

real clemency to others, who otherwise may be incited to renew the like practices, from observing, in the present case, that they are passed over with impunity. One traitor is however secured; for a courier has just arrived with the head of MAZEUS, the late governor of Phrygia; and orders are dispatched to put to death ARGESTES, which he already deserved for his mal-administration of Lydia. I will not conceal from thee, that these executions have occasioned no small faction and intrigue in the court. The friends of SACAS, and the relations of MAZEUS and ARGESTES, some of whom are of the most considerable families in the empire, put every method in practice, to investigate from what quarter these treasons were discovered. But thou mayest rest assured, CLEANDER, that thy letters are shewn to none but those of the secret council; and no care shall be omitted, that may contribute towards thy safety, which, as long as I have any influence, shall be equally secure with my own.

PYRACMON the Spartan tells me, that an agent from Lacedæmon will shortly arrive here, with fuller powers and less limited instructions. If we ever proceed so far with him as to draw up a plan for a league between the Great King and the Lacedæmonians, we shall insist that no peace be made with Athens, till they agree to abolish that article in CIMON's peace, which restrains our navigation. Otherwise the assistance we shall afford them will be real and effectual to their advantage; and the obligations they lay themselves under with regard to us merely nominal.

I have orders from the king to acquaint thee, that whenever the scene of business at Athens requires a less particular attendance, thou mayest take an opportunity of surveying the most remarkable parts of Greece, and send us accounts, as well of the general face of the country, as of the customs and policies of its different states.

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The time and manner of performing this journey are left to thy judgment; but in order to defray any expences it may occasion, and to reward thee for thy late signal service, TERIBAZUS, the treasurer, is directed to transmit to thee 2000 Darics by the hands of thy brother the merchant.

P.

LETTER LIX.

CLEANDER to SMERDIS.

IN a former letter* I told thee of an extraordinary philosopher, who hath appeared within these few years in the town of Athens. And as thy attention must of course be raised to hear that so much learning exists among the Greeks, it is my design in the present, to give thee an account of some, who have been esteemed in this part of the world for the superiority of their wisdom, and the remarkable sanctity of their manners. To say nothing of the Ionic and Italic schools, which in their turns have produced persons of great eminence and abilities, I shall entirely confine myself to speak of the seven sage contemporaries of Greece.

THALES of Miletus, who is generally counted in the number, was founder of the Ionic sect: the rest are BIAS and CLEOBULUS of Caria, CHILON and MYSON of Laconia, SOLON of Athens, and PITTACUS of Mitylene. They were so highly respected by their countrymen, as to be distinguished by the honourable title which I have just now mentioned. Nor indeed is it to be wondered at, if such singular regard was paid to them, since however deficient their

* Letter lii.

doctrines

doctrines may seem in more enlightened times, yet methinks a natural reverence is due to those who first opened the avenues to philosophy, and were the earliest improvers of human reason. The particular accident which is said to have been the occasion that this title was bestowed on them, is thus related by the Grecian annalists. Some Milesian fishers having taken a silver tripod in one of their nets, were not able to agree among themselves to whom the property of it should belong, and therefore referred the matter in dispute to the oracle at Delphi. The oracle pronounced it should be given to the wisest man. Accordingly it was sent to THALES, who modestly declined accepting it; and so it passed from one to another of these philosophers, till it was at last dedicated by SOLON to the god APOLLO. When it was brought to MYSON, the persons charged with it were received by him in the habit of a menial slave working on his own grounds. Happy times of primitive simplicity, when a wise man was known by no other token than his virtue!

I proceed to THALES. He was born in the first year of the thirty-fifth olympiad, and was the most celebrated geometrician, naturalist, and astronomer of the age he lived in. But I shall not present him to thee, SMERDIS, in any one of these regards; and chuse rather to consider him in the capacity of a moral teacher. For as thou, in the character of a religious instructor, art more versed in precepts for the conduct of life, than the idle researches of science; so thou art better pleased with the professors of the former than the latter. THALES, having received several questions from AMASIS the king of Ægypt, sent him the following answer to each of them: "Wouldst thou be informed, what is oldest? It is God, because "he is a being from eternity. Wouldst thou know, what is "greatest? It is space, because the world contains all things, but "that contains the world. Wouldst thou be satisfied, what is fairest? "It

"It is the earth, because it is exquisitely contrived and disposed.
"Wouldst thou be told, what is wisest? It is time, because it
"discovers the most secret transactions. Wouldst thou be ac-
"quainted, what is common to all men? It is hope, for when
"every possession is gone, that abides with us. Dost thou ask,
"what is best? It is virtue, for it sweetens the enjoyments of life.
"Dost thou ask, what is worst? It is vice, for it corrupts every
"good. Dost thou inquire, what is strongest? It is necessity,
"because that alone is invincible. Dost thou inquire, what is most
"agreeable? It is to obey the dictates of nature, and pursue the
"ends she has marked out." As he had spent the best part of his
paternal fortune in literary pursuits, his friends reprimanded him
one day severely for his neglect of it; but he told them, that a wise
man was always rich, while a rich man had seldom the happiness to
be wise. And upon their asking him, what advantage he had
reaped from his acquirements in knowledge? he answered, he would
soon give them a remarkable instance of it. In short, having fore-
seen by some physical observations, that it would be a fruitful year,
he bargained with the inhabitants of Miletus for the produce of
their olive-trees in the ensuing season. From these he extracted a
large quantity of oil, the profits of which proved a considerable
revenue to him. When his acquaintance came to congratulate him
on this success, he generously distributed his gains to the neces-
sitous; adding, that it was the duty of a philosopher to esteem
money at a low rate. They tell of him, that in a conference which
he held with a philosopher of Priene, relating to his extraordinary
method of calculating the proportion that the sun's body bears to the
orbit he describes in his annual course, the Priean admiring the
acuteness of THALES, and the beauty of the invention, intreated
him to command any reward which it lay in his power to bestow
on him; but THALES made him this answer: "I require no other
"reward

“reward from you, than that you should not arrogate to yourself
“the credit of the invention; but if ever you impart it to others,
“inform them of the true author. The wisest men are by no means
“contemners of glory; much less should I, who am very far from
“the possessions of wisdom, be pleased with any man, who would
“unjustly usurp to himself the honour of those discoveries, which
“might otherwise redound to my own reputation.” A question
was one day put to him, whether it were possible for a man to
conceal his actions from the gods? “Impossible,” said he, “because
“they are even acquainted with our thoughts.” He used to thank
Providence for three things; that he was born a reasonable being,
and not a brute; a man, and not a woman; a Greek, and not a
Barbarian. His love of liberty and independence was such, that
during his residence in the palace of AMASIS, he made himself
obnoxious to the ministers, by the freedom and boldness of his
conversation. In particular, he expressed his abhorrence of tyranny
so strongly, that it gave offence to the king, who could never be easy
till he had sent him away with some notable marks of his displeasure.
The reflection which chiefly enraged them was this: “That of all
“wild beasts a tyrant is the worst, and of all tame beasts a flatterer.”
Thus was THALES an excellent philosopher, but a bad courtier!
This however happened fortunately for Greece, since by that means
he was forced back into his native country, which he enriched with
those invaluable treasures of learning that he brought from Ægypt.

BIAS was descended of a noble family in Priene. He had a
natural talent for eloquence, which he so improved by practice, that
his name as an orator grew famous over all Greece. To tell a
pleader, that he had performed at the bar of a court of justice like
BIAS of Priene, was for many years thought the highest compliment
that could have decently been paid to any one. The most remark-
able

able story, that is told of him, I find to be this: When ANDRS, who succeeded GYGES on the throne of Lydia, took the city of Priene by storm, and was just preparing to give it up to the plunder of his soldiers, the inhabitants were diligently employed in removing their effects. In the midst of this general consternation, BIAS alone appeared not concerned for the event; and being admonished by some of his acquaintance to follow their example, he immediately answered them, "You are mistaken, if you think I am unmindful of my affairs; for all that is mine I carry with me." There is one precept of his, which bears hard upon his character, *viz.* "That we should ever behave towards an enemy, as if he might become our friend; and towards a friend as if he might become our enemy." The first part of it, which regards our conduct to an enemy, is a wise and rational reflection; but the last part, that regards our conduct to a friend, seems destructive of social happiness, and the pleasure resulting from the unreserved overflowings of affection. The different circumstances and casualties of my life; venerable SMERDIS, (and surely various are the trials I have undergone,) never gave me occasion, I confess to thee, to believe it a necessary maxim. This conclusion, however, thou wilt naturally draw from it; that the philosopher who imparted this severe advice to the world, must have entrusted the secrets of his heart to a man; who proved afterwards perfidious; and the rather, because one would imagine that nothing could have extorted it from him, but his own fatal experience of the corruption and fickleness of human nature. How much better is the generous principle of his countryman CLEOBULUS, that "Enemies are to be reclaimed by a gentle forbearance, and friends to be preserved by a cordial benevolence!" The life of this philosopher was not distinguished by any interesting events. It is known of him in general, that he lived happily in the office of principal magistrate in his city, and was

blessed by Providence with an extraordinary daughter. She was a celebrated composer of ænigmas, many of which she sent into Ægypt to be solved by the sagacity of the learned. Though her father was very attentive to the management of his passions, yet she was of great service to him in moderating those unguarded starts of anger, which were apt to break from him ; a circumstance the more agreeable to CLEOBULUS, as it was accompanied with all the amiable simplicity of real tenderness and duty !

CHILON possessed the dignity of an Ephorus in Lacedæmon. Being asked by ÆSOP the fabulist, what he thought most difficult, he replied, " to keep a secret, and to bear an injury." He wrote a letter to PERIANDER of Corinth, in which he told him, that " it " was impossible for a tyrant to be safe ; and he might esteem him- " self singularly fortunate, if he died peaceably in his bed." In his old age he declared among his intimates, that he was not conscious he had ever done any thing inconsistent with his duty, except that in a contest between one whom he loved, and another whom he had no regard for, he was unwilling to determine either against his friend or the law, and so persuaded him to appeal to a different tribunal, where he might hope to be acquitted. How few are there who, like CHILON, at the close of a long life, can accuse their judgment but once of being warped by partiality !

MYSON was an inhabitant of the town of Chæna. Notwithstanding his father was governor of the place, he seems to have neglected those honours to which his birth and rank did naturally call him, and to have retired from the noise of publick business to his little farm, confining himself to the culture of his lands, and the improvement of his own mind.

I come

I come now to *SOLON*. Were I to give thee a particular account of his institutions, this letter would swell into a volume ; nor will I endeavour to describe to thee the rapturous veneration which the Athenians pay to his memory, since an attempt of that sort could only present thee with a faint idea of it. Besides, thou mayest perceive it is no part of my design to consider him as a wise law-giver or a superior politician, but as he stands on an equality with the rest of these speculative philosophers. Having met with innumerable crosses, which usually disturb a good man in republican governments, *SOLON* was rather forced by the necessity of the times, than tempted by his curiosity, to travel into *Ægypt*. However, while he staid there, he made himself well acquainted with the knowledge of the country. On his return to Athens, he found *PISISTRATUS* invested with the supreme authority ; and though he was his nearest relation, yet he vigorously opposed each of his arbitrary measures. He told his countrymen, that “ in asserting their common liberties, “ he thought himself wiser than some among them, and braver “ than others : wiser than those who suspected not the intentions of “ *PISISTRATUS*, and braver than those who suspected them, but “ timorously concealed their sentiments.” He used to say, that “ laws are like cobwebs ; they entangle the weak and men of low “ condition, but the rich and the powerful break through them.” The story of his conference with *CROESUS* on the subject of happiness, is well known, from the large account of it that hath been lately published in the *Clio* of *HERODOTUS*. I imagine a copy of that excellent history must have penetrated into Bactria ; and therefore I will not trouble thee with a tedious repetition of what is there recited, nor spoil its beauty by contracting it. *SOLON*, in order to prevent the abuses, which might arise from the extensive power of the people, created a council of four hundred to be chosen out of the tribes, who were to examine every proposition,

before it was offered to the general assembly for their determination. On this head ANACHARSIS, the Scythian sage, made a lively remark to him: "Methinks, (said he,) it is a strange disposition of your affairs, that you should suffer wise men to debate, and leave it to fools to decide."

PITTACUS was a man of remarkable steadiness in his conduct. He killed the tyrant who oppressed his country, and for that gallant action the people of Mitylene submitted themselves of their own accord to his authority. He governed them for ten years with surprising lenity; and when they began to grow weary of him, he abdicated the regal office. He would frequently exclaim, "How difficult is it for a great man to be honest?" Without doubt, he had experienced, that the life of a prince was one miserable round of dissimulation; and that it was sometimes more necessary to satisfy the exigencies of state-policy, than the dictates of conscience. He exhorted his friends to secure a retreat within their own bosoms; and to fly from the troublesome crowd of flatterers, which surrounded them, to that engaging solitude. He ordered a wheel to be placed in the temple at Mitylene, as an emblem of the uncertain course of fortune and vicissitude of things.

I have now laid before thee, venerable SMERDIS, such material particulars, as I have been able to collect, relating to the lives and characters of the wise men. Nor can it have escaped thy penetration, that in the maxims, which I have cited from them in the course of my letter, they have touched upon those lessons of wisdom, which are the most improving, and conveyed them to the understanding of others with the clearest brevity. At the same time it must be owned, that the sentences I speak of, though they are certainly very precious

cious remains of their opinions, are yet far from composing any regular and consistent scheme of philosophy. Hence is it, that the doctrines of the Grecian sages swarm with various contradictions, while some have rejected with disdain, what others supported with obstinacy. How little then can any or all of them be compared with the inspired prophet of the East! If these had the happiness to be blessed with any faint dawnings of the light of reason; ZOROASTER enjoyed it in its full force and lustre. If these laid down any rational principles of conduct in human life; ZOROASTER understood the relations of duty, and revealed a noble system of morality. If these were eminent among their citizens for philosophical austerities; ZOROASTER may be considered as a perfect pattern of virtue. If these investigated any truths in the knowledge of nature; ZOROASTER was acquainted with all her secret wonders and mightiest operations. If these, when they worshipped that immortal power, who is the provident artist, and wise governor of the universe, confined themselves to the petty limits of a temple made with hands, and offered sacrifices on altars of their own erecting; ZOROASTER taught, that the temple of OROMASDES was infinite space, that his altar was the earth, the air, and the heavens. If these were of service to one corner of mankind, to their native cities, and the narrow districts of their own communities; the religion of ZOROASTER was not fixed to one place or society of men; it has made its way through innumerable nations of the world. To conclude, the philosophers, like the gods of Greece, were partial in their knowledge, selfish in their pursuits, unsettled in their conduct, contentious in their natures, mean in their affections: ZOROASTER, like his own deity, the great OROMASDES, was boundless in knowledge; extensive in benevolence, uniform in his conduct, undisturbed in his nature, refined in his affections. In a word, the former were only

only fitted to perplex the reason, and divide the hearts of their countrymen; while the latter was born to clear and improve the one, to enlarge and unite the other. Adieu.

From Athens.

C.

L E T T E R L X.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS. *From Athens.*

HAD I not received thy commands to lay before thee some account of the military discipline of the Greeks, I should never have ventured to address my remarks on that subject to so consummate a captain, who, by long experience in the duties of a soldier, and the warlike arts of different nations, must anticipate every thing that can be offered, on a science, which the ablest general now living might be proud to learn under thy ensigns. But my desire to gain an insight into every particular in the Athenian policy and customs, from whence the Persian ministry could expect information, has induced me to extend my inquiries to a part of knowledge, which would otherwise have lain out of my sphere. I shall therefore endeavour to comply with thy orders, by sending thee such observations as I have either had an opportunity of making myself, or collected from the discourse of the best officers amongst the Athenians, whose tactics throughout this letter I have kept principally in view.

The military force of this republic, and indeed of all the other Grecian states, is composed of three sorts of troops, citizens, allies, and mercenaries. The former, thou mayest imagine, are held in the highest degree of esteem, and most relied upon; the latter being exposed without concern, and never trusted without necessary cautions; and since their attachment to the cause, for which they fight,
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is owing to motives of constraint or profit, their fidelity is sometimes suspected.

The young Athenians are early trained up to arms ; at the age of eighteen they learn the military exercises under the inspection of able masters, and inure their bodies to suppleness and fatigue, by frequenting the stadia and wrestling schools. At twenty their names are entered in the publick register, after taking a solemn oath in the temple of AGRAULES, by which they oblige themselves "to fight till the last gasp for the interest of religion and the state, in conjunction with their fellow-citizens, or even alone, if occasion requires ; to increase the prosperity of their country ; to obey the laws enacted by consent of the people ; and to oppose with all their might those who shall attempt to alter the constitution." When this ceremony is performed, the young men are looked upon as members of the commonwealth, enjoy all the privileges, and are liable to all the duties of citizens ; amongst which that of appearing in arms, whenever the voice of the people requires their service in the field, is none of the least : but in order to inure them to the discipline and fatigues of war, they take their turns by detachments to mount guard in the citadel, Piræus, and other forts of Attica, for two years before they are sent upon any expedition abroad. The Grecian infantry, in which the strength of their armies consists, is made up of Hoplitai, Psiloi, and Peltastai. The first are heavy-armed soldiers, who engage with long spears, broad shields, and cutting swords. The second are light-armed men, who fight with arrows, darts, and slings, and are placed either in the van to begin an engagement, or on the flanks of the wings, to gall the enemies cavalry, and prevent their breaking in. The Peltastai are a sort of troops between the two former, so called from the narrow targets, which they wear. These again are divided into bodies of thousands, hundreds, and

and fifties each, commanded by their proper officers, the Chiliarchs, Hekatonarchs, &c. To each company of one hundred and twenty men four subalterns are assigned; the lieutenant, whose post is in the rear, the ensign, the trumpeter, the crier, who gives the word of command, and the sutler, who supplies the men with necessaries, and waits upon them. The Athenian officers all assure me, that amongst the many advantages their troops have over those of the East, they reckon these sub-divisions to be one of the principal. By this means the men perform their exercises with more exactness and uniformity, move with greater quickness, attack with greater force, and have a larger number of officers to watch over their conduct in their quarters, as well as encourage and direct them in a day of battle. Over the foot are placed ten camp-masters, with the title of Taxiarchoi, chose by each of the tribes*; they command, under the general, (who is always one of the Strategoi elected annually by the people,) the infantry of their respective tribes, give orders for the marches, review the men, punish them for their misdemeanours, and regulate the distribution of victuals to every soldier. The cavalry are divided into squadrons under their proper officers, two of whom are called Hipparchoi, and have the same jurisdiction over them as the Taxiarchoi have over the foot: but the Grecian cavalry is not very numerous; and in this respect I should think the Persian armies were far their superiors, when they have generals at their head, who know how to make use of so material an advantage. The Hippeist†

* Their names are the *Ægean*, the *Erethian*, the *Cecropian*, the *Pandionian*, the *Acamantian*, *Antiochian*, *Leontian*, *Oenian*, *Hippothoonian*, and *Ajajian*. The reader may see in POTTER'S *Antiquities* the several divisions of these tribes into *Demoi* or boroughs. Note by the translator.

† The Athenians were divided into three orders: the first were worth 500 medimms of liquid and dry commodities; the second 300; the third 200: the rest were allowed to vote, but not to bear offices in the state. This was an institution of SOLON. Note by the translator:

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or horsemen, at Athens, compose the second order of citizens, and are required to have a certain annual revenue, and to maintain a horse at their own charge; but they do not amount to twelve hundred at the most. The Lacedæmonians are likewise but indifferently supplied with cavalry; the best of theirs comes from Sciros, a town not far distant from Sparta. Indeed a very natural reason is to be assigned for their deficiency in this branch of their armies; for as Attica and Peloponnesus are mountains and rough countries, there is no opportunity or encouragement to train up a breed of horses for the service; and those they have can be of little use in military operations from the situation of the ground. The cavalry of the Thessalians, who possess large and extended plains, is most esteemed, and therefore hired by the rest of the Grecians to supply that defect amongst themselves. The custom of paying soldiers was introduced here by PERICLES: before his administration every citizen served at his own expence; now a foot-soldier receives three oboli a day, and a horseman a drachm; but upon particular occasions this stipend is increased.

Thou must have observed of the Grecian armies, that they are not formidable so much for their numbers, or even courage as individuals, as for the excellent discipline, which prevails among them, and that warm love of glory and their country, which animates every man in the army, from the highest officer to the meanest soldier. Their courage, without the former, would only expose them to danger; without the latter, they would want the most powerful motive to distinguish themselves. Their evolutions are contrived with deep penetration, founded on practice and a study of the military art, which is unknown to the rude undisciplined multitudes of the East, who are dragged out of the villages to recruit our armies, and urged on by blows and scourges to the attack.

When the Grecians would break the adverse battalions, they throw themselves into the form of a wedge, which the enemy, if they understand their business, receive in a *koilembolon*, or pair of sheers, which intercepts and breaks the force of the rhombus. When they would receive or give a regular onset, they form in a body of sixteen in flank, and five hundred in front, presenting on all sides a firm impenetrable phalanx. When they would enter defiles or straits possessed by an enemy, they extend their files in the shape of a worm, from whence the figure receives its name: in short, no one incident can happen in the day of battle, for which they have not invented a proper motion; unlike the armies of Persia, potent lord, thou well knowest, who rush on tumultuously with hideous cries, and place their whole dependance upon the fury of the first attack. If that fails them, their courage abates, their ranks grow disordered, the officers are unable to give orders in the confusion that ensues; and if the enemy give one brisk push, they betake themselves to a shameful flight.

The science of attacking and defending towns is much improved in this country since the invasion of XERXES, when the Spartans, after the defeat of MARDONIUS, could not force a body of Persians, who had taken refuge in some wooden fortifications, till the Athenians marched to their assistance. The long duration of the siege of Plataea has contributed towards a variety of new works and machines, that are daily brought into practice; whereas before, their usual method was to draw up their army in the form of a tortoise, and give a general storm, or else batter the walls with the ram, and then send a party to enter by the breach. I have hitherto confined myself to the discipline of the land-armies; but as the chief pride and security of Athens consists in the number and goodness of her ships, and the experience and skill of her seamen, thou mayest expect from me.

me some remarks on that part of her military force. In a former letter to GOBYRAS* I mentioned the classes of twelve hundred rich citizens chosen out of each tribe, upon whom the expences of all the naval preparations are laid. These classes are divided into companies of sixteen each, who unite to fit out a trireme; but there seems to be something unjust in the law upon which this practice is founded. Every citizen, from the age of twenty-five to forty, is ranked in one of these companies; and whether he has a revenue of two hundred talents, or of two, is obliged to contribute equally in equipping a single ship. Now it seems highly unreasonable, that the possessors of plentiful estates should contribute no more than others towards the publick expence; and that the citizens of smaller fortunes should be burdened with as large an assessment as the more opulent: and yet the law, as it stands at present, is liable to these objections, and I think it would be very meritorious in any of their orators to propose a new regulation†. The Athenians man their gallies, according to their respective rates, with a due proportion of soldiers and sailors. The former are generally heavy-armed, for they endeavour to come to boarding as soon as possible, and by engaging hand to hand, bring it as near as is practicable to a land-fight. The sailors are made up of mariners, who manage the sails and tackling, and rowers; both composed of citizens, contrary to the practice in other countries, where the latter are always slaves. Amongst the Athenians they divide them into three orders; those in the uppermost benches are called *Thranitai*, those in the middle *Zeugitai*, those in the lower *Thalamitai*. The first have the largest pay; since by the distance of the water, and length of their oars, they undergo more fatigue and danger than the others. The officers on board a fleet,

* Letter xxxiii.

† This was afterwards done by DEMOSTHENES. See the oration *πρὸς Ζεφειανόν*, wherein both the laws are inserted.

besides the admiral and his lieutenants, are the Trierarchs or captains of ships, who have under them the master or pilot, the Keleustes or boatswain, who directs and places the rowers, and the Logistes or purser, besides other subalterns.

Having thus submitted to thy censure an imperfect essay on the Grecian tactics, permit me, illustrious minister, to impart my thoughts with boldness on a scheme which has often occurred to me. Since our royal master has seen peace in his days, he has done a great deal towards healing the losses, and restoring the honour of the empire. But might he not put the finishing stroke to so glorious a work, by allowing pensions out of his treasury to any able officers and engineers, who would travel over Greece, and study the art of war, which begins to arrive at a degree of perfection and refinement unknown to former ages ? Some might in disguise take plans of the principal cities, inquire into the strength of each state, survey the situation of the country, and find out the proper places for encampments, surprize, or disembarkation. Others should enlist in the troops which now contest the dominion of Greece, endeavour to gain the esteem of the generals, and be present at and take a journal of every action. When they return home, the king might reward them proportionably to the diligence of their enquiries, and the importance of their remarks. They should then be dispersed over the provinces, to discipline the troops, and fortify those cities and passes which are esteemed the keys of the empire. I know it is sufficient to mention this project to thee, potent Satrap ; nor need I enlarge upon the increase of real strength to Persia, of reputation to her arms, of glory to our present monarch, and of lustre to the ministry of MEGABYZUS, which would be the infallible consequences of it. Farewel.

P.

LETTER LXI.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

THE more I consider human nature, the more I find it unable to bear the agitations of love, grief, or indignation in silence, or under the cover of tranquillity and cheerfulness. In such circumstances the affections will force their way; we must vent our groans to the rocks, and pour out our complaints to the senseless and inanimate part of the creation, if we are afraid to entrust them with the rational and those of our own species. Men of narrow minds, who have wanted generosity enough to gain a friend, or of fickle minds, who have wanted sedateness enough to fix one, must frequently have recourse to soliloquies in retirement, when tossed to and fro by the hurricane of passion. But for my own part, I thank the gracious OROMASDES, that he has given me a warmth of temper, as well as strength of understanding, sufficient to make me zealous in cultivating a strict correspondence with the wise and faithful CLEANDER, in whose bosom I may deposit every undisguised thought and disquieting apprehension. Let me open myself to thee without reserve on the state of the Bactrian schools, and the indolence of our order. It will not surprise thee that I blame their faults; for thou art too well acquainted with my integrity, to imagine me capable of approving those corruptions, which the sanguine would pronounce it my duty to palliate, and the cautious would think it my interest to maintain.

Our mighty prophet ZOROASTER received numberless favours from the great DARIUS, in whose memorable reign he appeared. The
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erudition and sanctity of the order, which he reformed, occasioned the bountiful encouragements and large revenues, which were bestowed on us by the monarchs who succeeded him. They thought our attention to rectify the religious notions, and improve the reasons of our followers, qualified us to instruct the youth of the empire in philosophical speculations: they thought the recluseness of our condition and the purity of our lives enabled us to curb their appetites, and refine their practice. In our hands therefore the heirs of noble families and the hopes of the kingdom were placed.

By this means they conceived, that, notwithstanding the alterations in our government and manners, the loss of the ancient schools would be repaired, simplicity preserved in those who are surrounded with superfluities, and continence amidst every incitement to transgress. I need not enlarge on these mistakes, which are obvious, and, however absurd in themselves, are too serious in their consequences to be ridiculed.

Alas! the ignorance of the world, in which we are generally brought up, and which has preposterously raised our reputation, both as observers and teachers of morality, introduces more faults amongst us than it saves us from; and instead of subduing or extinguishing the passions, it only cuts out another channel for them. Though our desire of reputation be checked, and our vanity constrained to act in a narrow sphere, we give a loose to pride, and look down on the useful part of society with an insolent scorn. Though we have few opportunities of shewing our obstinacy in action, yet we are strangely tenacious of opinions; and though we are clear of those vices which arise from promiscuous conversation, we fall into the low habits that attend a want of it.—Believe me, my Ephesian friend, there is no error which carries less the appearance

pearance of truth, at the same time that there is none more destructive of magnanimity, than this, that "not to have met with temptation, is to have acquired virtue." But if it was the intention of Providence, that virtue should be the effect of good sense and experience united, it is then incumbent upon us, who are to educate a nation, to have known the world, and struggled with its insinuating allurements. What though we be guilty of mistakes at first setting out, neither ourselves nor our neighbours should despair of us; we must pursue our journey, take care to be informed better of the right track; and after having followed it, our advice to the young adventurers in life will be received with more reverence, when it proceeds from a sobriety not natural and phlegmatick, but painfully and dangerously acquired. Such men would be far advanced in the way to perfection; for though to learn wisdom from the sufferings of others be the highest point of it, yet it requires no small share of understanding to take warning, and to give it, in consequence of our own. Such men might be said in truth to have the government of their passions, might be esteemed masters in the art of education; and having tried what the world is, would be fit instructors for those who are to live in it. It were to be wished therefore, that while some of us are employed in contemplating and explaining the divine volume of ZERDUSHT, others should be employed in the public service, in travelling abroad, and enriching themselves with the fruits of their enquiries into men and things; and that all of us, at a certain age, in recompence for the support we had received from the colleges of Balch, should be recalled, and obliged to spend the rest of our days in forming the youth of Persia. We might then hope to see the institution of this place much amended. Instead of teaching chicanery, evasion, and positiveness in our schools, the sound principles of policy and justice would be set forth: instead of a scrupulous attachment to forms enforced by the

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the terror of an unmanly discipline, we should behold a general regard to good breeding, candour, and philosophy, arising from an inward regulation of the temper and a well-turned mind. No man would enjoy the pension designed for the diligent, who was not somehow or other interested in the great work; and it might be found possible, however it may seem otherwise at present, for the oldest and most venerable of our order to converse with their disciples, and not betray themselves into the extreme of an unmeaning dignity, or a low familiarity. Thus conducted and improved in the opening of life, the youth would no longer laugh at our sage counsels with the giddiness of children, nor disdain to obey our laws with the stubbornness of men; and the Magi themselves would think they ill-deserved the emoluments they receive, or ill answered the end of their founder, if they were regular in no good thing but their oraisons to the rising or declining MITHRAS. C.

LETTER LXII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Athens.*

THE fourth campaign of this war is opened with symptoms not very favourable to the Athenians. Early in the spring they received the unexpected news that SITALCES had sworn to a separate peace with Macedon, his troops had been repulsed at the attack of Europus, worsted in some skirmishes with PERDICCAS' cavalry, and began to want provisions, and suffer from the inclemency of the weather. But what gave him most uneasiness was the delay of the Athenian succours, (for the republic was afraid of sending their ships so far from home) and the intelligence he had, that
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the people of Thessaly, alarmed at his ambitious views, were taking arms in the south, and some of his neighbours in Thrace, from the same motive, forming leagues against him in the North. These at least are the reasons, and not unpalatable ones, by which he palliated his conduct to the Athenian ambassadors; but the truth of the matter is, as I privately learn, that the artful PERDICCAS had gained over SEUTHES, a near relation, and principal councillor to SITALCES, with the promise of marrying him to STRATONICA his sister, and giving her a vast portion, if he could bring about an accommodation. And such (it seems) is the influence of this minister, that in eight days time he prevailed with his master to abandon the poor AMYN-TAS, as well as his own claims, and return home. It is added, that the king of Macedon, resolved not to disappoint his benefactor, is making preparations at Pella for the nuptials of STRATONICA and SEUTHES.

Three expresses have arrived here within these few days from the magistrates of Tenedos and the inhabitants of Methymna, which brought advice, that all the cities of Lesbos had entered into a confederacy to shake off their dependance upon Athens; that their magazines were furnished with corn, and their garrisons with archers from the Pontus Euxinus; and that the preparations for an open revolt were so far advanced, that unless the Athenians used the utmost vigour and dispatch in quelling these commotions, the island would be lost. Private intelligence is likewise come from some friends in Mitylene, the capital of Lesbos, that the leading men amongst the revoltors have determined to send deputies to Lacedæmon, to desire that they may be admitted into the Peloponnesian league. This news has sensibly touched the Athenians; the most penetrating amongst them apprehend very bad consequences from these Lesbian troubles. They look upon this revolt as giving the signal to the

other tributary islands, to withdraw their supplies of ships and money, and either stand absolutely neuter in the present dissensions of Greece, or throw themselves under the protection of Lacedæmon or the Great King. They very well know, that their allies obey them more through fear than affection; that the absolute authority, which for many years they have exercised over them, has produced discontents, which want nothing but a fit occasion to break out into an open flame. They reason further, what can Athens do, when she is left alone to stand her ground against so many potent enemies, who pretend to have no other cause for taking up arms, but to keep the balance even, and to preserve themselves from the insults and assuming spirit of the Athenians? Her treasures must soon be exhausted, when the chief sources of them (arising from the contributions of the allies) are either lost to her, or turned against her. The inhabitants of a single city can never suffice to man annual fleets, or recruit large armies, particularly when that city has been considerably weakened by a cruel plague; much less will they be able to bear up against the losses and misfortunes, which are the ordinary attendants of war. What are we to expect from the other islands, when one, that has been the most favoured and distinguished, is the first to rise in arms against us? These are the reflections I meet with in the porticos, where the Athenians meet to talk over the business of the day, and to enquire of each other what news is stirring. To add to their distractions, the Peloponnesian army is encamped in the territories of Attica, and skirmishes often happen between their detachments and the garrison of the city. However, to preserve that resolution and address which they have hitherto shewn, they work day and night at the Piræus to equip a fleet of forty gallies, the command of which is given to CLIPPIDES, who has already received secret instructions from the senate, the contents of which, as I am informed, are, that “ he must sail with the squadron under his com-
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"mand to the port of Mitylene, and endeavour to surprize the inhabitants at a feast, which they celebrate every year to APOLLO, without the walls of the city. If he finds that solemnity past, or the Mitylenians prepared for his reception, he is to demand of them to deliver up their ships, and demolish the fortifications which they have lately raised. In case of refusal, he is ordered to declare war against them, and to keep the port blocked up, till further reinforcement arrives from Athens." The ten gallies, which the Lesbians, by virtue of their treaty with Athens, are obliged to join to their fleet now lying at Phalera, are seized, and the officers and mariners thrown into prison.

I had written thus far, when accidentally hearing a noise in the street, I had the curiosity to enquire the occasion of it, and was told, that a captain of a trireme stationed in the Piræus had stopped a vessel pretended to be bound for Ephesus, secured the packets found on board, and put the men under arrest by order of the Polemarchus. Struck with the thought that I had committed a parcel, addressed to my brother HIPPIAS, in which were inclosed dispatches to thyself and some Persian friends, to the care of the master of this vessel, a thousand doubts and apprehensions crowded at once into my mind. Recollecting that I had no time to lose, I run down to the Piræus, and found the captain preparing to carry his packets to the Prytanes. As I had luckily some acquaintance with him, I took him aside, and told him that he probably had a packet of mine in his hands which contained mercantile business of great consequence to my brother, which if exposed to the eyes of the magistrates, with some of whom he had dealings in the way of trade, must be highly detrimental to his traffic here. I therefore desired him to restore me that packet. He remonstrated to me, that his orders were express to bring all the papers he found in the vessel.

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I assured him that upon demand of the magistrates it should be produced. My earnest intreaties, supported by the more weighty eloquence of a talent, which I put into his hand, prevailed with him at last to restore it to me. I went home, and upon the spot made up a parcel, containing nothing but letters from me to HIPPIAS on our private concerns, which exactly resembled the former in size and figure. I had scarce put in execution this necessary artifice, when an officer brought me a summons from the Prytanes to appear directly before them. I went with an honest confidence, and found those magistrates in deep consultation. DYMAS the trierarch vouched, that the packet I delivered in to them was the same he had seized. The papers were looked into, some few general questions put to me, and after an hour's attendance I was dismissed. The Epistata, or president, declared to me that they were satisfied; that I had not been examined upon any particular suspicion, but that nothing might be omitted in so distempered a time, which any way tended to secure the tranquillity of the state. He gravely exhorted me to be discreet in my correspondencies, and prudent in my behaviour. I am since informed by a friend among the Prytanes, that the ship was stopped because they had discovered, that instead of going for Ephesus, the master was bribed to change his course, and make for Lesbos. They have found advices from one AGNON, an host of the Mitylenians, relating to the preparations going forward here. This AGNON is actually imprisoned, and will soon be put to death for his treasonable practices.

Having thus happily escaped so unexpected a danger, I shall set forward in a few days for the Olympic games, which are to be celebrated this year with the usual magnificence. The permission, which thy last dispatch brought me from our royal master, to survey some parts of Greece, has invited me to undertake so agreeable a journey;

a journey; and the large remittance, which I received lately from TERIBAZUS, enables me to perform it with convenience.

I prostrate my head in the dust, potent Satrap, for the favours heaped upon me. May the great OROMASDES continue to shed his healing influence upon the throne of CYRUS and the whole empire of Persia, averting from both (as he hath lately done by discovering the perfidy of SACAS) the malign efforts of the accursed ARIMANIUS! Farewel.

P.

LETTER LXIII.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

I COMPLAINED of a relaxation of discipline amongst the Magi*; and though not without reason, yet it would be injurious to impute it wholly to them: perhaps a general corruption may be too strong for their best efforts to restrain. The children of the great are committed to their care much later than formerly; they bring with them an high opinion of their rank, a confidence in their paternal fortunes, and an eagerness for pleasures, of which they have had an early taste. They associate only one with another, and seek partners in voluptuousness rather than the advantages of wise conversation, which would be attended with restraint; for excellent instruction is still to be had amongst the Magi, by those who want not industry and an ingenuous disposition: witness the young ORSAMES, who owns himself indebted to our schools for those qualities which adorn him, and promise such fruits to his country. But observe, CLEANDER, the

* Letter lxi.

prudent

prudent steps taken by the Satraps and the wealthy, who have entertained unfavourable opinions of a Persian education; they send their children abroad, and take no further concern about their conduct than that it may not be seen by them. The young Persian is set out with a splendid retinue; has his recommendations from Susa, and wherever he goes is received as a Satrap; he is honoured in our provinces, and gazed at in foreign states; his mind is elevated above his rank, be it what it will, and his improvements seldom qualify him for any. He probably impairs his fortunes, and upon his return, has a mind much raised above the thoughts of œconomy; or if he submits to it, it is in a wrong place. The expences of equipage and voluptuousness are become necessary and indispensable: he therefore grows parsimonious to those who have just claims upon him; he oppresses his dependants, and sparingly rewards the countryman, the guardian of his wealth. Nor is this to be wondered at; the young traveller sets out with a mind not yet confirmed in any principles, and at an age strongly biassed to pleasure. He therefore most naturally falls in with the corruptions of every country, both in principles and practice; for as he is disposed to gratify his affections, he readily admits such sentiments as favour them. It is generally thought the business of a traveller to select for the benefit of his country what appears to him to make up the most perfect polity; and from his experience of men, to become himself an exemplary, wise, and good citizen. But our young traveller takes a pleasure in reciting the imperfections he has observed in government, manners, and religion; he dwells much on the superstitions of Ægypt, the bigotry of the people, and the craft of the priests; and intimates, that he has much improved his sagacity in regard to the worship of his own country. He is just such an observer in morals; for if he has made the tour of Greece, he assures you, that the rule of right and wrong, the ground of all justice, so much insisted on by

by our ancestors, is not so indelibly imprinted by nature as has been imagined ; that an ancient and flourishing state has subsisted without the cultivation of it ; though probably he takes this upon hearsay, for our youth seldom come nearer to Sparta than a neighbouring isle*, much better suited to the delicacy of their lives. What can be the reason of this, but that they think their practice justified by these great authorities ? Why else do we hear little more of Athens, than its sports and gaiety ? of Sardis, than its gaming ? and of Babylon, than its obscene hospitality ? I assure thee, CLEANDER, I have known some of our youth, after a toilsome passage across Arabia and the sea into Upper Egypt, upon hearing the festival rites at Cyprus were coming on, take a light vessel, and with all the expedition of oars and sail swim down the Nile, and content themselves with so transitory a view of the great cities and monuments of that ancient kingdom. When they reached the ports of Cyprus, which extends its arms into the sea, and incloses vast fleets in its bosom, they spent little reflection on its stupendous moles and its conveniences for lading. They heard, that the temple of the Grecian goddess was open ; that a choir of an hundred youths, and as many beautiful virgins, had already begun the solemn ode ; they perfumed themselves with rich oils, and crowned with garlands, hastened to mix in the idolatrous rites habited like shepherds of Arcadia ; for all appear in disguise on this occasion, that they may not be under the restraint of shame, which ill becomes the votaries of so impure a deity.

Tender minds, CLEANDER, are ready for all impressions ; therefore it is not proper they should be withdrawn from wise and virtuous patterns, till they have gained an intimate acquaintance with virtue, and are able to combat the temptations of vice and folly.

* Cythera, the island of VENUS.

The soul is long in its infancy; the body comes much earlier to maturity: young men therefore (as the wives of the Magi are confined to the most beauteous objects of sight, and hear nothing but harmony, that no ill impression may deface their offspring, which is to be dedicated to the holy service of the temple) should be accustomed to no ideas that may pollute the soul, the purity of which is an offering most delightful to OROMASDES.

It is at too great a hazard they go in quest of what is worthy their imitation in Ægypt or Greece; for that much may be found so by a prudent enquirer, I will not deny: wisdom is not confined to one climate, it shoots out in some shape every where; at Athens it is wise policy, tender regard for the community, and every art that is properly humane; at Lacedæmon it is publick liberty, maintained by austere discipline, and an ignorance of every enervating pleasure; in Ægypt it is piety to the gods, and a veneration for all things sacred. It once appeared under all these denominations in Persia: alas! that we can now find it only in our histories!

Perhaps after all, CLEANDER, thou wilt say, what need all this precaution in favour of virtue? and why should our youth be prejudiced in her behalf, who is represented so amiable as to strike her beholders with admiration, and force our esteem? It is because virtue, though more amiable, is not so obvious; she useth little art to recommend herself; like a chaste virgin, she must be sought after and sued for: vice, like a prostitute, always presents herself, is officious, importunate, and ensnaring. ORSAMES is acquainted with this; he traverses the distant regions of the earth, not to gratify the idle curiosity of sight, or adorn the palace of his Persian ancestors with the arts of Greece, but to complete the furniture of his mind, to fit it for the abode of OROMASDES, who deigns

deigns to dwell with the good : in awe of whose presence the wicked AHRIMAN will fly from us, as the shades of night disperse at the approach of MITHRAS, to distant countries, and the deep caverns of the earth.

H.

LETTER LXIV.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES. *From Athens.*

THIS is the last letter, which I shall write to thee from Athens in some months. I set out to-morrow on an expedition to the Olympic games, and promise myself, that the magnificence and order, with which they are celebrated, the great confluence of Greeks, who repair from all parts to Olympia, the variety of countries and noble cities I shall pass through in my road, and especially the agreeable set of friends who accompany me, will more than answer the ideas of pleasure and improvement which I propose to myself from the journey. Thou wilt, I believe, think that I have made a very happy mixture of acquaintance, when I let thee into the character of my fellow-travellers. My patron PHILEMON, as well upon account of his age as his merits, should be mentioned first. This worthy Athenian ever since my residing here has treated me with particular regard: to him I am indebted for the friendship I have made with those who are most distinguished in Athens for their virtue and abilities: to him I owe the little knowledge I have acquired of the constitution of the republick, and the manners of a people the most contradictory and various in their dispositions of all others. PHILEMON has passed through the most considerable offices in the state. He was, when very young, captain of a tri-

reme at the battle of Salamis, and narrowly missed taking the famous Queen ARTEMISIA, who escaped him by a very extraordinary stratagem. He has been since overseer of the fortifications, archon, one of the five hundred, and is now a member of the Areopagus. In all these employments an unblemished integrity, and an exact discharge of his duty, have recommended him to his countrymen as one of their most deserving citizens. He has frequently opposed the measures both of CIMON and PERICLES; but it was in such a manner, that you saw, though he condemned the faults, he spared the men; and that his opposition proceeded not from ambition or caprice, but from an honest zeal for the publick welfare. He is always well heard in the assemblies of the people, not from the art or eloquence of his orations, or a command of words, that rather overpowers than convinces the reason: but because he speaks to the purpose, and with an air and gesture, that shews he does not mean to impose upon his hearers, unless he is first deceived himself. Another quality, which distinguishes my friend, is a singular humanity: his door is open to every poor citizen, and his table prepared with a frugal hospitality to receive any stranger, who comes recommended either by his own deserts, or the request of a common friend. There is not a greater test of his benevolent temper, than that though he is an old man, he can encourage the mirth, and bear with the levities of the young; nor a stronger instance of his good breeding, that that he does not abound in the narrative faculty of years, and is rather forward to promote the conversation of others, than to assume an air of superiority, by obliging them to listen to his. This is an imperfect sketch of PHILEMON's character: I pass next to that of my other companions.

CLINIAS is descended from one of the noblest families in Athens; and though both his rank and abilities intitle him to a considerable share

share in the government of his country, he devotes himself almost wholly to the improvement of science. He is an universal patron of arts; the philosopher, the poet, the painter, the historian, and the sculptor, find alike the effects of his liberality. He is not contented to be an admirer of learning, he is likewise an excellent judge of it. I have seen him hold an argument with the sophist GOBYRAS, and heard him dispute the doctrine of the soul's pre-existence with SOCRATES. ZEUXIS submits his most finished picture to his censure, and PHIDIAS would alter the drapery or attitude of a statue upon his advice. His table is frequented by all the learned in Athens; he abounds himself in the most elegant discourse, and has a peculiar art of setting the talents of others in the best light, and throwing something in their way, that may give them an opportunity to distinguish themselves. The two affairs, in which he most interested himself, were the accusation brought against PHIDIAS for defrauding the publick in the gold employed about the statue of MINERVA, and the charge against ANAXAGORAS for impiety: but neither his interest nor his eloquence, though supported by PERICLES, could save the artist from prison, or the philosopher from banishment.

PHILOCLES is a young man, who gives early marks of being a good officer. He has been employed in the service of Thrace, and behaved with so much gallantry at the siege of Potidæa, that the generals sent him to Athens with the news of its being taken. He served last summer in PHORMIO's fleet, and was recommended by him to the people to be made a trierarch in the squadron which is ready to sail to Lesbos; but CLEON had interest enough to disappoint him, for the sake of one BATTYLUS, a buffoon and a Lutanist. PHILOCLES however is not discouraged from pursuing a military life, but hopes for better success at the next equipment. In the

meantime he designed to put in for the prize of the chariot-course at the Olympic games.

To complete our party, we have CHLORUS of the tribe of Pandion, a young man of wit and politeness, but of a character something singular: though he has a fund of good sense, he has one weakness, of affecting a general acquaintance amongst the rich and the powerful. You generally see him at some great man's elbow at the theatre, and he is very busy in laying the cushion for him. He boasts to this day of a letter he received from PERICLES, to thank him for a present of olives, and was extremely surprized at not hearing from his good friend PHORMIO all the last campaign. He is well skilled in the genealogy of the Athenian families, and has promised we shall be supplied with the best intelligence from Athens during our absence.

I please myself with reflecting on the different views, which my companions and myself propose from this journey. The humane PHILEMON is willing to be present at a ceremony, which he thinks tends to inculcate a respect for the gods, and to remind the different people which inhabit Greece of the ties, which ought to unite those who enjoy one common name, country, and religion. CLINIAS is pleased with the thoughts of extending his acquaintance amongst the learned and ingenious. PHILOCLES flatters himself with success in a contest, that gives a lustre to the victor's name for his whole life. CHLORUS would be known to every one who displays a splendid equipage at Olympia. For my own part, all that I aim at is, to approve myself a faithful servant to ARTAXERXES, and no useless minister to Persia. Adieu.

P.

LETTER LXV.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. *From Heliopolis.*

As the priests of Egypt are the most considerable part of the body politick, and hold the chief rank and pre-eminence among the people, thou wilt be curious to know what are the different orders into which they are distinguished. And as these several orders are more strictly kept up according to the ancient establishment in the college of Heliopolis than in other places, I will endeavour to satisfy thy curiosity. To distinguish * them according to the different ranks they appear in upon publick processions and solemnities, I may mention first, after the inferior degrees, the chief of the music-band, who always carries some musical instrument, as an ensign of his office; and in his custody are two of the books of HERMES, one containing hymns in honour of the gods, the other rules and precepts for the conduct of their kings. Next after this officer is the diviner, who carries an horoscope and a palm-branch, the symbols of astrology; and he is required to be thoroughly learned in four of the books of HERMES, that treat of that science; one, of the order and arrangement of the fixed stars; a second, of the phases of the moon and her conjunctions with the sun; the other two, of the phænomena of their rising. After him comes next in order the sacred scribe. He wears wings fastened to his mitra, and carries a book with a rule, in which is ink, and a reed to write with. His province lies in the hieroglyphical knowledge, and he must be skilled in those books that treat of the doctrine of the globe, geo-

* CLEMENS ALEXANDR. Stromat. lib. vi.

graphy,

graphy, the courses of the sun and moon, and of the five planets; he must know accurately the position of the several parts of Ægypt, the nature of the Nile, the lands and districts appropriated to the priests, the exact measure and dimensions of them, with the uses and symbolical applications of all the sacred instruments. I may reckon next after him the master of the sacred wardrobe, who carries the rod of justice before the prophet, and a cup for libations. He is thoroughly versed in all the institutes of the Ægyptian discipline, and all the rites of sacrifice; and there are ten kinds of service performed in honour to the gods, under which the whole of the Ægyptian religion may be comprehended: the chief are sacrifices, offerings of first-fruits, hymns, prayers, processions, and public festivals. Last goes the prophet, followed by those who carry the bread of *distribution*, and he is the head and supreme over all. To him it belongs to interpret the laws of HERMES; and he not only presides in all matters of religion, but, according to the ancient constitution, holds a supreme judicature in all causes without any further appeal, as chief* of that high tribunal of thirty†, which was composed of ten from each of the three principal cities, Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis. And though his power be limited, since Ægypt became subject to Persia, yet his decisions are still held infallible among the Ægyptians; as a token of which he wears a saphire‡, with the image or emblem of truth hung by a golden chain about his neck. The priests in general are habited in linen§, from a conceit that woollen garments would defile them. But the prophet likewise hath his head shaven, and wears on his feet slippers of the bark of the palm-tree, and carries at his breast a water-jar, wrapt in the folds of his garment||. The prophet is charged with the distri-

* ÆLIAN Var. Histor. lib. xiv. c. 34.

† DIOD. SICUL. lib. i.

‡ ÆLIAN. *ibid.* DIOD. SIC. *ibid.*

§ HEROD. lib. ii. c. 37.

|| APUL. METAM. lib. ii.

bution

bution of their revenues. To him belong the ten sacerdotal books. In those books are contained the laws, the doctrines of their mythology, and whatever relates to the discipline of the priests. These are the chief distinctions among the priests of Ægypt, or professors of the Hermaic doctrines. And there are upon the whole two-and-forty books of HERMES absolutely necessary to the literati of Ægypt; thirty-six of which number, containing all the philosophy, belong to the fore-mentioned orders; the remaining six, which are physical, to the Pastophori, and they treat of the parts and structure of an human body, of diseases, of instruments, of mendicaments, about the eyes, and lastly of women. To the forementioned orders may the whole priesthood of Ægypt be referred in their different ranks and degrees. But the Pastophori and Neocori, or sacred Ædiles, are of a much inferior rank, and to be reckoned among the subministrant orders, and the purifications required of them are much less tedious and painful*. This then is that body of men so famous throughout the world, upon whom the original constitution of their country did entirely depend. Nor have they only governed that state in civil and religious matters, prescribing rules to princes, and exercising an absolute jurisdiction over the actions, and I had almost said opinions, of their own people; but have spread their influence abroad, and been in league with the law-givers of every later state. The grand policy of their religious initiations may be thought to have greatly promoted their designs, by means of which they could preserve a correspondence in distant countries, and be informed of whatever was for their purpose to know of the secrets, not only of states, but of private persons; thereby the more effectually to

* CHEREMON apud PORPHYR. de Abstin. lib. iv. § 8. Τὸ μὲν καὶ ἀσθεῖας φασὶν εἶναι ὅτι τὰς ἀρρώστιας ὡς καὶ ἰσχυρίσας, &c. Τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῶν ἱερῶν τε καὶ Πάτριων καὶ Νεοκόρων ἀλλόθεν καὶ ὑπεργὰρ τῶν θεῶν καθάρσεις μὲν ἐκείνων, ὅτι γὰρ μὴ μὲν ἀσθενείας καὶ ἰσχυροτάτης τοῦτο δι.

deceive and surprize those who resorted to them. And though they are less considerable now than they were formerly, yet they will still keep up the same disguise and artifice of a mysterious secrecy. There is no set of men seem more to affect a recluse and contemplative life, or to live more abstracted from all secular cares and concerns. They affect a singular preciseness in all their actions, a slowness in their steps and motions, much gravity in their mien and habits, with a settled countenance, that seldom or ever is changed by smiles*. The night they dedicate to the observation of the heavenly bodies, or to certain ceremonies of purification, which they perform at stated hours; the day to the worship of their gods, whom they celebrate both at the sun-rising, and at noon, and in the afternoon, and at the close of the evening. The most general study that employs them at other times, is arithmetick and geometry, in which sciences they are always labouring to make further discoveries, and investigate new truths. And to them it must be confessed the greatest improvements in those sciences have been owing. Neither is there any art, of which they do not arrogate to themselves the first invention. For the most celebrated philosophers, poets, and lawgivers of other nations, are mentioned in the sacred registers of this college, as having resided sometime among them, and submitted to the discipline of their order. Of the most eminent they have taken care to preserve a statue or picture, performed in the taste of the age wherein each illustrious person flourished. They have several uncouth figures with the names of ORPHEUS, MUSEUS, and MELAMPUS, engraven on the stone; and a DÆDALUS, in the manner of his statues, said to be his own work. Among the rest is the Spartan LYCURGUS, and the Athenian SOLON, PYTHAGORAS of Samos, and the immortal HOMER, who in his description of the infernal

* CHÆREMON apud PORPHYR. lib. iv. § 6.

regions,

regions, which fable ORPHEUS introduced into the religious doctrines and mysteries of Greece, plainly alludes to this place and the adjoining territories.

I should observe, that the priests trust not their own memory to written registers, any more than that of other famous men. At Thebes I was shewn a single pedigree*, which entirely filled a large temple, deduced from father to son through more than 300 generations, and every succession in it represented by a coloss of wood dressed in the habit of the time when each Piromi, as they called them, or worthy, lived. To this pedigree not a few of the present race lay claim, and I think it is carried up to the sons of the Dioscuri. For as they boast that their mythology, with all their learning, was received from the first Thoth, or MERCURY, they likewise celebrate with a particular reverence the memory of an ancient order, called the Cabiri, who were his counsellors and secretaries, and assisted in establishing that mythology, and the mysteries of a false religion, which from Ægypt and Phœnicia were propagated into Greece by them or their immediate descendants. They were eight brethren, sons of SYDIE, a contemporary of CHRONUS, of whom IOSORTHRUS or ÆSCULAPIUS was one, and they were the same with the Corybantes and the Dioscuri of the Greeks; and their worship with certain mysteries was very early established in Samothrace, Imbrus, and other isles of the Ægean sea. The Cabiri had a temple at Memphis, which was inaccessible to any except the priest. But CAMBYSES, when he ravaged the other temples of Ægypt, entered into this, and scoffing at their images which were deformed like that of VULCAN, set fire to it. MERCURY was the first author of a celestial system of the world, and by him and the

* HEROD. Euterp. 143.

† HEROD. lib. iii. c. 57.

Cabiri the hero gods began first to be consecrated into sidereal divinities; and the priests scruple not to declare, that they had the bodies of those gods embalmed and deposited among them*, and that they worshipped the relicks of their bodies here on earth, while their souls shone as stars in heaven. Thus OSIRIS first was worshipped as the sun, though his relicks were consecrated in the mysteries of Isis, and his tomb shewn at Nysa in Arabia. And though he be acknowledged as a divinity in his own name, yet the priests intimate, that he still receives divine honours in the worship of that luminary, to which the famous temple of HELIOPOLIS is dedicated. And indeed the name of OSIRIS signifies in their language a thing with many eyes†, with allusion to the sun, that darts its rays into every corner, and as it were surveys the whole earth. In the temple there is a throne of opal, which dazzles with an inexpressible brightness when the rays strike upon it. But there is no statue for the sun‡; and the priests say, they make no image for the sun and moon in their temples, because every man sees them daily in the heavens. Yet in the procession that is made for consulting the oracle of that god, a jointed statue of him is carried, which gives its answers by motions§. In this ceremony the priests are attended by the principal persons of the country. They shave their heads, and observe a long continence before it begins. The pillars throughout the temple are of the Pyrite stone, the roof of gold and ivory, but diversified with inimitable art||. The doors are of silver¶; round the sides are figured the twelve signs of the year, under the emblems of Ægyptian deities. Within the precincts of this famous temple is a stupendous obelisk dedicated to the sun by RAMESSES, one of their ancient kings, or rather intended

* PLUTARCH. de ISID. & OSIRIDE.

† DIOD. SIC. lib. i. c. 1.

‡ LUCIAN de Deâ Syriâ.

§ MACROB. SATURN. lib. i. c. 23.

|| KIRCHER Obelisc. Pamphil. lib. i. c. 5.

¶ OVID. Metam. descript. regie solis.

for

for a monument to perpetuate his own honour. The height of it is ninety-nine feet, and each of the sides four cubits. Every side is divided into three rows with hieroglyphical figures and inscriptions. RAMESSES is intitled upon it, *Lord of the world, guardian of Ægypt, and conqueror of foreign nations*, with many other glorious characters, that set him forth as a person highly favoured by the gods, and nearly related to them, as it was customary from the earliest times to flatter their kings with a divine original. CAMBYSES, when he attacked this city, and had set fire to the buildings, before it reached the obelisk, out of a particular veneration for that magnificent pile, ordered the flames to be extinguished. Adieu.

L.

L E T T E R LXVI.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES. *From Megara.*

As I imagined thy curiosity will be excited to know the particulars of our Olympic expedition, I shall write a regular account of what occurs most remarkable during the course of it; and I desire thou wilt communicate a copy of this letter to the chief scribe.

In the morning, before we began our journey, PHILEMON, who strictly adheres, not only to the essentials of religion, but to every point of decency which an exact observance of the ceremonial part requires, invited us to partake in a sacrifice to MERCURY and HECATE, the gods protectors of travellers, at his house. When that was finished we set out, and leaving the city at the western gate, soon struck into the road which leads to Eleusis. The country about Athens wears at present a very disagreeable aspect, from the

frequent incursions of the Peloponnesian army. The Demoi or villages, the habitations of the tribes before they were united by THESEUS, are most of them in ruins; the lands lie uncultivated, and the labourers are dispersed. PHILEMON, as we passed along, frequently deplored in tears the calamities of war, and sometimes pointed out to us, with a pious regard, a grove or fountain sacred to some local deity, or the sepulchre of an old hero, that invites travellers to stop, and pay a short veneration. The traditions of the country relating to these ancient monuments, though they are interesting to a Grecian, whom they remind of some religious institution, or remarkable fact in his own history, would afford but little entertainment to a stranger; and therefore I shall only mention such as are particularly remarkable. On one side of the way is a tomb erected to the herald ANTHEMOCRITUS, killed (as the Athenians affirm) by the Megareans, to whom he was sent on an embassy just before the breaking out of this war. A little further you meet with an altar to ZEPHYRUS, and a rustic temple to CERES, in memory of her wanderings in search of PROSERPINE. On the other side of the river Cephissus you may observe an altar to JUPITER *the placable*, where THESEUS is said to have expiated himself after the murder of the robber SINIS, his relation. Eleusis is a small town, celebrated for the mysteries performed there to the honour of CERES and PROSERPINE. As it is lawful for none but the initiated to enter into the temple and mystick cell, which they tell you is capable of holding as many people as a theatre, I can give no account of the inside. The front is sumptuous, and adorned with a large portico of Doric pillars. The country people shewed us here the threshing-floor of TRIPTOLEMUS the son of CERES, and a field where the first crop ever sown in Greece sprung up. In memory of so signal an event, some barley out of this very field is made into cakes, and used in the mysterious sacrifices. The town itself receives its name from
ELEUSIS,

ELEUSIS, the son of MERCURY and a sea nymph, and came into the Athenian possession in the reign of ERECTHEUS, upon condition that the family of EUMOLPUS, then priest of CERES, should enjoy the privilege for ever of presiding at the mysteries. After leaving Eleusis we soon entered the territory of Megara, which formerly belonged to the Athenians, but in the time of CODRUS the Peloponnesians expelled them, and peopled Megara with a Corinthian colony. As one of the pretended causes of the war is the severe decree made at the motion of PERICLES against the Megareans, which the Lacedæmonians demanded to have repealed, the people of this place are extremely incensed against the Athenians, who in return have added a clause to their generals' oath, that they shall annually invade Megara. Notwithstanding this enmity between the two republics is carried to so vast a height, we find a very hospitable reception at the house of a friend of CLINIAS, and have spent two days in surveying the temples, and other publick structures of the place. The city stands on a hill, the streets are spacious, and adorned with some buildings of note. Not far from the gate where we entered, is a temple dedicated to DIANA SOSPITA, or the Saviour, upon an extraordinary occasion. Whilst MARDONIUS lay encamped at Thebes, a party of his troops, that had wasted the country round Megara, being upon their retreat, lost their way in the dark; and either confounded by their fears, or, as the inhabitants report, misled by a delusion from the goddess, imagined that they saw a band of enemies drawn up against them: under this mistake they discharged their javelins at the neighbouring rocks, which returned a sound like the groans of dying men. They continued this fanciful fight till day-break. When they had wasted their weapons, a real one ensued; for in this unarmed condition they were attacked, and easily routed by the Megareans. Hard by is a grove and temple sacred to JUPITER. The statue of that god, begun by THEOCO-

SIMUS

SIMUS of Megara, assisted by PHIDIAS, is left unfinished, because the publick revenues and the estates of private persons are so exhausted by the continuance of the war, that they are not able to support the expence of it. The citadel, which takes in a large space of ground, contains several publick buildings; as the monument of ALCMENA the mother of HERCULES, that of HIPPOLITA the Amazon, and of TEREUS the husband of PROGNE. Here stand likewise the Prytaneum, and a temple of APOLLO. In the forum is the tomb of CHOROEBUS, an ancient hero, who killed a dreadful monster called the Pœna, that was sent by APOLLO to ravage Argolis. The story is told in verse upon the monument, and the bas-relief, representing the fight between CHOROEBUS and the Pœna, is esteemed the most ancient piece of sculpture in Greece. I have been down at Nisæa, their port and arsenal; it stands lower than the town, and is well furnished with naval stores. A trireme is just come in with advice, that the Athenian fleet is sailed with a fair wind for Lesbos. We shall stay here a day more, and then proceed for Corinth, which is our next stage: from thence I shall write to the chief scribe, as the customs and antiquities of that city will afford ample materials for the observation of inquisitive travellers.

I cannot give thee a better idea of the humanity and politeness, for which the Grecians are so famous, than by concluding with an account of the manner in which strangers of any distinction are received in the towns through which they pass. The person who entertains meets his company at the door of his house, and conducts them into the hall, where he presents them with bread, wine, and salt, which is considered as a sacrifice or libation to JUPITER XENIOS, or the Hospitable. Then they refresh themselves after the fatigues of the journey by bathing, which is followed by supper, accompanied with musick, or the enlivening poetry of some wandering

Aoidos,

Aoidos, or bard. It is customary at parting for the host and his guests to interchange some little presents, to divide a piece of money or ivory, as a pledge of eternal friendship. So inviolable are the rites of hospitality preserved, that war itself does not destroy them. The Greeks, potent satrap, cannot be sufficiently commended for paying this strict regard to those common ties that distinguish mankind from the brutes, and which are agreeable to the practice of the remotest ages, as well as to the condition of our nature. Adieu.

P.

LETTER LXVII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES. *From Corinth.*

WE have been arrived at Corinth some days, which is esteemed one of the richest, largest, and most beautiful cities in Greece. Its situation, thou must have heard, is very extraordinary. It stands upon a neck of land about five miles over, which joins Peloponnesus to the rest of Greece. This isthmus lies between the two bays, the Crissæan and the Saronic, the one formed by the Ionian, the other by the Ægean sea. Upon each of these bays the Corinthians have an harbour, one called Lechæum, and the other Cenchrææ. The latter is the most considerable. Here stands likewise a temple to NEPTUNE, where the statues of the victors at the Isthmian games are erected; a theatre, and a stadium. The approach to the town through a grove of cypress trees is very pleasant. The buildings are most of them elegant and spacious, and, as well as the statues and pictures, finished by the best masters; for this place, amongst other advantages, is celebrated for producing eminent artists in architecture, painting, and sculpture. By the favour of CHYLON, one of the

the magistrates, at whose house we are lodged, I have surveyed all the curiosities of Corinth, and shall give thee an account of the most remarkable. Several of their publick edifices stand round the forum. In the middle is a statue of MINERVA, with the muses carved on the base of the pedestal. Next to this is an aqueduct adorned with a brazen NEPTUNE, at whose feet lies a dolphin, that spouts out water. On each side arise the superb temples of VENUS, FORTUNE, and one dedicated to all the gods. The fountain of Priene lies at the foot of the craggy mountain Acrocorinthus: it is so named from the nymph PRIENE, who lamented the death of her daughter, killed accidentally at the chase by DIANA, with such torrents of tears, that she was turned into a spring. The water is remarkable for the sweetness of its taste. The fountain is adorned with white marble, a statue of APOLLO, and a bas-relief representing the fight between ULYSSES and the suitors.

The citadel is built upon the top of Acrocorinthus; and is reckoned, both by the natural situation of the place, and the advantages it has received from art, impregnable. From hence you have the finest prospect imaginable of the Ionian and Ægean seas. Whilst we were viewing the citadel, we saw three Corinthian galleys engaged with as many Athenian; the latter seemed to be superior, till two more sailing from Cenchrea to join their countrymen, they were obliged to bear away before the reinforcement came up. The baths at Corinth are magnificent, particularly those of NEPTUNE; at the entrance are two statues of the god leaning on an anchor, and DIANA in an hunting dress. The aqueducts and fountains are numerous, and give a coolness to the city in the greatest heats of summer. One, called the fountain of Lerna, is surrounded with rows of trees, and supported by marble columns, and there are seats round it, covered with tapestry. Its neighbourhood to the gymnasium

sium and musick theatre render it the most frequented of any in the city. They boast here of several pieces of the sulptor DÆDALUS, which, though rough and unpolished, shew a fire and spirit that supply the want of correctness.

The Corinthians are much inclined to ease and diversion; the masculine simplicity of Sparta is unknown to them, neither do they cultivate learning like the Athenians. VENUS is the goddess whom they adore most fervently; their streets are crowded with her temples, and almost every day in the kalendar is marked by some festival to her honour. The hospitality, which so particularly distinguishes the Greeks, prevails here in the same degree that it does every where else. Our quality of enemies does not hinder us from being received with the politeness of neighbours and friends; and thou mayest imagine there are no small numbers of Athenians, who take this place in their way to Olympia. I have found no difficulty in prevailing with my company to stay here some days longer. I propose by it to gain time for making a dispatch to the chief scribe. My delay proceeds likewise from a more private motive: HIPPIAS sends me word, that he will join our Olympic party from Ephesus in a few days. We shall afterwards proceed directly through Argolis, Achaia, and Elis, to the games. I kiss thy robe, noble satrap, and bid thee adieu, wishing thou mayest find the same entertainment in my letters that I receive from the circumstances which occasion them.

P.

LETTER LXVIII.

CLEANDER to GORRYAS. *From Corinth.*

THE city where I now am, potent lord, hath undergone several revolutions in its government. From a little obscure town called Ephyra, it was raised into a kingdom by SISYPHUS, whose posterity reigned over it near two hundred years. They were dispossessed by the Heraclidæ, or descendants of HERCULES; and these in their turn gave way to the Bacchidæ, a noble Corinthian family which took the administration of affairs into their hands, and elected an annual magistrate out of their own body, whom they called the Prytanis. During their government, the Corinthians planted the two famous colonies of Syracuse and Coreyra, which are both grown to such a height of power and wealth, as to have no sort of dependance on their mother city. Thou knowest, that the quarrels of the latter with Corinth, relating to Epidamnus, were the first sparks that set Greece in a flame. CYPSELUS the son of LABDA, of the race of the Bacchidæ, who for her deformity had been married out of it, fulfilled the Delphic oracle, by dissolving this aristocracy, and usurping the throne. Through the mildness of his temper, and the popularity of his behaviour, he reigned quietly thirty years, and left the crown at his death to his son PERIANDER. The Corinthians still retain the utmost abhorrence for the memory of this tyrant. His fear of the people made him always keep a strong guard about his person, and take off the heads of the most eminent citizens. Nor was his cruelty confined to the publick; it exerted itself equally in private life. He put his wife MELISSA to death at the instigation
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of his concubines, and banished his son **LYCOPHRON** to **Corcyra**, for resenting the ill-treatment of his mother. **PERIANDER** afterwards sent for him to settle the succession upon him ; but the **Corcyreans**, apprehensive that the old tyrant would come and reign over them, prevented it by killing the young prince. This news so afflicted the father, that he died for grief at the age of fourscore. The **Corinthians** took hold of so favourable an opportunity to resume their liberties, and established a government, which is a mixture of aristocracy and democracy. The senate is perpetual, and chosen out of a certain number of the most ancient families ; but the assemblies of the people have a large share of power.

The situation and naval force of **Corinth** render it one of the most considerable states in **Greece**. By the former they command the **Ionian** and **Ægean** seas, and possess the only pass of communication between **Peloponnesus** and the continent ; for which reason the citadel, or **Acrocorinthus**, is usually called the **Eye**, and the city the **Fetter**, of **Greece**. Had **XERXES**, after forcing the straits of **Thermopylæ**, marched directly to the **Isthmus**, before the united forces of **Greece** were assembled there, and the fortifications completed, which were raised to defend the country, he must have made himself master of **Corinth**, and would then have had two fine harbours for his ships to lie in, and a secure retreat for his land army. Had he even lost a battle, he might have waited here for reinforcements ; nor would the lord of millions have been reduced to the necessity of crossing the **Hellespont** in a fishing-boat. Suffer not, illustrious satrap, the misfortunes of our ancestors to discourage those who succeed them ; let them rather serve to improve their conduct. When **Persia** would revenge the shame which she suffered at **Salamis**, this should be her first enterprize ; and to render the success more assured, I send plans of the citadel, and the entrance into the ports of

Lechæum and Cenchrea, which with great difficulty I have obtained. The Corinthian fleet is at present the most considerable in Greece, next to the Athenian. They fitted out twenty-five gallies against XERXES, made an equipment of sixty in the war with Corcyra, and engaged PHORMIO last year with seventy sail.

I transmit to thee inclosed the intelligence which our last letters brought from Athens, by which thou mayest perceive the state of affairs there since my departure; and when I write from Olympia, I shall use the same method. Farewel.

Extract of a Letter from Athens.

A trireme is arrived from CLIPPIDES, with advice, that upon his arrival before Mitylene, he found the inhabitants apprised of his expedition, and that they had deferred their annual solemnity; that they utterly refused to comply with his demands, and had even attempted to surprize some of his ships, which by stress of weather were separated from the rest, but were soon repulsed. As he apprehended he had not strength to reduce the island, he had complied with their offer of making a suspension of arms, and sending over deputies to Athens.

Extract of another Letter.

The deputies of Lesbos are just upon their departure, without success. We suspect that they only came to gain time, since we have certain information that their ambassadors are on their way to the general assembly of the allies at Olympia. We are preparing a reinforcement of twenty gallies for CLIPPIDES, and hear that ten from Corcyra have joined him; so that the port of Mitylene is entirely blocked up.

P.

LETTER LXIX.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES. *From Olympia.*

As I am willing to hope that my correspondence is not disagreeable, I shall proceed to lay before thee some farther particulars of my Olympick expedition. The first town of note we arrived at, after leaving Corinth, was Sicyon, a large and flourishing city, formerly governed by kings, but now a republican state. From thence we crossed the river Asopus, and proceeded through the delightful plains of Arcadia, and the territory of Elis, to Olympia. We have found sufficient employment since our arrival, in viewing the antiquities and curiosities of the place, particularly the temple of JUPITER OLYMPIUS, the grove called Altis, wherein it is built, and the plain of Pelops. The architect of this temple was LIPO the Elean. It is covered on the roof with marble cut in the form of tiles, and the shell of the structure is white stone ; on the top of the pediment is a statue, Victory holding a golden buckler, engraven with Medusa's head ; a present of the Lacedæmonians and Argives after the battle of Tanagra, to the Athenians. The pediment of the principal front is adorned with sculpture, representing the story of PELOPS winning the daughter of OENOMAUS king of Elis, at the chariot course. It is said to be the work of a native of Mendez, a city in Thrace. In the pediment of the back front, is the battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, executed by ALCAMENES, a celebrated Athenian sculptor. Two brazen gates afford a spacious entrance into the body of the temple, and two ranges of columns, supporting two galleries raised to a very considerable height, lead up to the throne of JUPITER. The eyes of every spectator must be immediately struck

struck with the statue of that deity at the upper end, which the nearer it is approached the more it excites admiration. This statue is universally esteemed the master-piece of PHIDIAS, who took his idea of it from a sublime description in HOMER of that god. The materials are gold and ivory. The image has on its head a crown of gold resembling the branches of an olive tree. In his right hand he holds a Victory, formed of gold and ivory; in his left a sceptre exquisitely polished, inlaid with a variety of metals, and surmounted with an eagle. The mantle is gold, embroidered with various animals and flowers. There is a serene majesty in the look, which at once creates love and veneration, and puts one in mind of HOMER's epithet for him, *The father of gods and men*. The throne is answerable to the magnificence of the deity who fills it. It is embellished on all sides with different ornaments. At the four corners of the throne are seen the graces and hours in a circling dance; at the bottom are two lions, one of which holds a shield in his paw, whereon is sculptured the battle of THESEUS and the Amazons. Before all these is raised an enclosure breast-high, where the pencil of PANÆNUS has exerted itself in painting such subjects as may have a proper effect to animate those spectators who intend to enter the lists; There is HERCULES relieving PROMETHEUS; the same hero supporting the globe in the room of ATLAS. The priest who accompanied us, told us, that PHIDIAS, after he had finished the statue, having begged of JUPITER to give him some token that his workmanship had not displeased him, immediately the pavement near him was struck with lightning; and in memory of the miracle, a brazen urn was placed over the spot. I could not help looking at a row of pillars in the sanctuary, which are hung round with tablets of treaties between the Grecian states, deposited, as it were, under the guardianship of JUPITER. But their reverence to the supreme deity is not so powerful an incitement to preserve the articles of them inviolate,

inviolable, as their interest or resentment is to induce them to infringe them. Our company was with difficulty drawn away from viewing these wonderful performances, which do so much honour to the Grecian masters, to walk over the rest of the temple, and particularly to survey that noble collection of presents and offerings which are made either by victors at the games, to shew their gratitude, or by princes and foreign states to testify their veneration to the god. There are laid up in the sacred treasury, vases embossed with gold, robes stiff with embroidery and gems, statues and pictures, which not only dazzle, but fatigue the sight. You see particularly a chariot and four brazen horses, sent by CYNISCA, daughter of ARCHIDAMUS king of Sparta, the first person of her sex who won the chariot-prize at Olympia.

When we had satisfied our curiosity within the temple, we were led out of a gate in the northern side into the Pelopion, or plain of Pelops, which is planted with rows of trees, interspersed with innumerable altars and statues of divinities and heroes. The Pelopion and Altis inclose about sixty of the former alone, consecrated to the different deities of Greece. Near the gate stands an altar to Olympian JUPITER, of a very singular structure; for it is wholly built out of ashes, from the thighs of the sacrificed victims. Several steps lead to the top; the first half are stone, the others are made of a cement of ashes mixed with water from the river Alpheus, which runs by Olympia round the walls of the Altis. And in the neighbourhood of it are erected the statues of the most renowned amongst those who have gained prizes at the games, with inscriptions signifying the number of crowns they have won, and sometimes that they were the first who conquered at such an exercise. Here is one of the famous MILO of Crotona, who, after winning six prizes at Olympia, and as many at Delphi, is come, though advanced in years, to

to put in his claim for the thirteenth victory. A little way out of the town, near the mountain Cronius, are monuments to the eternal infamy of such as either by fraud or corruption have obtained the prize; and the expences are defrayed out of the fines set upon them. An inscription on the statue of one *EUPOLUS* records, that he had bribed three of his competitors at wrestling, and was the first who had tainted the sanctity of the games. It concludes with an admonition, that the Olympic palm was not to be acquired by money, but address and vigour alone. I shall just mention the temple of *JUNO*, which stands north of the Pelopion, whose splendor and magnificence is far eclipsed by that of the thunderer. The statues are many of them in the old taste. The greatest rarity is a coffer, presented by *CYPSELUS*, tyrant of Corinth, which would take up a letter to describe fully: the sides are ornamented in the richest manner with painting and bas-reliefs, that include the most remarkable subjects in the fabulous history of Greece. In the way leading to the Prytaneum is a statue of *JUPITER*, erected at the joint cost of the Grecian states that fought against *MARDONIUS* at Plataea. The names of them, beginning with the Lacedæmonians, followed by the Athenians and the rest in order, are engraved on the basis of the pedestal.

I can assure thee, potent lord, that nothing I have yet seen in Greece or Asia equals in any degree the magnificence and elegance that appear in the structures here. One may say, that architecture, painting, and sculpture, have not only united their utmost efforts, but even exhausted the secrets of their arts, to render Olympia worthy its tutelar deity, and the games exhibited to his honour. I have neither memory nor leisure to relate the tenth part of the various entertainment which this place affords me; and from what I have already said, thou wilt not wonder that every fifth year renders
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it the universal resort both of natives and foreigners. I cannot conclude more properly, than by laying before thee the best account I am able to collect upon the spot, of the origin and alterations which have happened in these ancient and celebrated games. There are two stories equally prevalent in the country relating to their first institution; the one ascribes it to the Curetes, JUPITER's tutors; the other to the god himself, after the defeat of the Titans. They suffered afterwards long interruptions, and were severally renewed by HERCULES, and PELOPS, when he had won HIPPODAMIA, the daughter of OENOMAUS, at a chariot-race. This part of their history is fabulous and uncertain; but I think all agree that they were established on their present footing by IPHITUS, a descendant of OXYLUS, king of Elis, about four hundred and eight years after the taking of Troy. It was at that period they took a regular form; then gymnasiums and places of exercise were set up, and directors of the games, or Hellanodicæ, appointed. Those officers are now nine in number, chosen by lot from amongst the principal inhabitants of Elis, whose territory is declared sacred, and those accounted impious and sacrilegious who invade it. From enjoying these honours and immunities, Elis is become one of the best-peopled states in Greece. Every one, of what nation or quality soever, who intends to be a competitor in the games, is obliged to present himself before the magistrates in the Prytaneum, and take an oath at the altar of JUPITER there, that he had for the ten preceding months performed a kind of novitiate in the exercises, which he proposes to appear in at the games; and that he would strictly adhere to the terms prescribed for each exercise. Then a herald with a loud voice demands, if no one present can accuse the candidate of any crime or misdemeanor, which renders him unworthy to contend for the crown of olive. If no objections are made, the name of the person is enrolled in a publick register, and himself dismissed till the day

VOL. I.

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of trial. The wrestlers are divided into two classes, that of children, and that of men; the former are admitted from the age of twelve to seventeen. Women are not allowed, under pain of death, to be present at any part of the solemnity.

As the games, which are always fixed for the full moon in Ekatombeon, will begin in a few days, thou mayest expect that this letter will soon be followed by another, containing a full account of the whole representation. Farewel.

P.

LETTER LXX.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER.

I CAN no longer contain myself, CLEANDER, from returning my thanks for those agreeable letters I have received from thee on thy journey to Olympia. I value thy friendship above all I have contracted, since it is so far from cooling in a foreign climate, that it grows warmer in absence, and perpetually turns thee back to thy country and acquaintance, amidst a variety of new objects to engage thy attention.

I imagine ere this time thou art informed of Sacas's conspiracy by the noble GOBRYAS, and the several steps which have been already taken in that affair. The queen-mother and the fair Damaskan having found the king inexorable to their prayers in favour of the criminal, at last withdrew their intercession. Nothing then remained but to put the sentence of the supreme council in execution: however, it was first thought proper that he should be
privately

privately examined before MEGABYZUS and the chief scribe. Upon that occasion, I am told, discoveries of importance were extorted from him by the rack; and that he has accused many of the satraps of Media, who were involved in the same guilt. This report is a good deal confirmed by the express, who went lately into that province with orders from our potent monarch, that PANDATES, MINDUS, and OXYATHRES, three Median lords, should repair to Babylon without delay. He brings word, that the latter is fled, and that his two accomplices, not suspecting the danger, are secured by a strong guard. GOMRYAS is much busied in watching the intrigues of those, who are endeavouring to trace out from what quarter these horrid practices were laid open. A few days since the perfidious eunuch received the just reward of his treasons, and was boated, according to the severe penalties inflicted on traitors by the law of Persia. The hunting seat, that belonged to him in the forest of Nisa, and all his riches, are confiscated to the king's use, which are valued at more than an hundred thousand darics. I have myself some design of applying for a grant of the former, as it will be a very convenient recess for me, whenever a change in the ministry, the death of my royal master, or the infirmities of old age, oblige me to leave the toilsome attendance of a court-life.

PYRACMON the Lacedæmonian agent is gone back to Sparta, without an audience of leave. For as he has never appeared regularly in the character of a publick minister during his stay here, by reason of his obstinate refusal to comply with the ceremony of prostration at his arrival, it was impossible for me to admit him into the king's presence. At the same time that the ruling magistrates in Lacedæmon have recalled PYRACMON, they have sent us another in his room, whose name is NICANDER. From the judgment I have been able to form of him, he is as strange a creature as his countryman, and is

is possessed of all the uncouthness and indelicacy, which seem inherent in every member of that military republick. As soon as he came within the walls of the palace, he desired to be presented to ARTAXERXES as a commissioner from Thebes, that he might avoid going through the forms of an audience in the quality of a Lacedæmonian; and being asked, if he had brought any powers from that state to treat with the Great King; he replied, Yes, but that his instructions were more considerable from his native city. I was ordered by the ministers of our sublime court to tell him, that this was regarded as a trifling evasion of the homage paid to our sovereign by the ministers of every state; and that though he intended it to preserve (as he proudly thought) the dignity of a Spartan, yet such mean and shifting arts were much below the character of politeness, which the Greeks assumed to themselves; and he must consent to be received as an Ambassador from Lacedæmon, or not at all. The delivery of this message had its due weight; and in a surly manner he submitted. But I observed, when I conducted him into the royal chamber, agreeably to the usual ceremony, he dropped a ring, which he wore upon his finger, and in stooping to recover it, made an awkward reverence to our monarch. I saw immediately, by the resentment which sparkled in the king's eyes, that this behaviour gave offence, and the conference was short; but that wise counsellor MEGABYZUS has advised him to suffer reasons of policy to supersede the motions of anger.

To give thee a further insight into the manners of the man, I must tell thee of a circumstance, which will excite thy laughter; that in all his conversations with GOBRYAS he disdains the offered civility of that courteous minister, by throwing his body on the floor of the apartment, where they meet together, instead of resting himself upon the sofa of state. It was intimated to me one day, that

that it would be proper to invite NICANDER to an entertainment of dancing and musick, which was ordered that evening in the magnificent hall of DARIUS. I took INTAPHERNES along with me, and we went about noon to wait upon NICANDER. We were introduced to him without any form, and found him dining alone very heartily on a mess of the famous black broth, which I conjecture from the coarse appearance of it must be a detestable repast to any but a Lacedæmonian stomach. The person who attended him, was an Helot slave, whom he had brought along with him to Babylon, because of his happy talent in preparing it. He received my invitation very coldly, and answered me with roughness, declaring, that he came upon a matter of business, not a party of pleasure. We left him with a contempt for the narrowness of his temper, and a thorough persuasion of his incapacity to serve in foreign negotiations.

CRATIPPUS, the sophist of Rhodes, who has been employed for some time in GOBRYAS's office, informed me yesterday under the seal of secrecy, that he was going upon a private expedition to Sparta; and that he should be very glad to maintain a correspondence with one, whom he had so high an opinion of as yourself. He said, although that city was at a considerable distance from Athens, yet, as he fancied you and he should be almost the only well-wishers to the king of Persia in the territories of Greece, he would certainly find a method of communicating his thoughts to you frequently and without reserve. I congratulate thee, CLEANDER, on being joint-labourer with a person of CRATIPPUS's uncommon parts and learning. He is a man of such dexterity and address, that whether he converses with the superstitious Egyptians, or the effeminate Ionians, whether he conforms to the simplicity of the Persians, or the splendor of the Medes, he is

equally

equally cheerful and agreeable. In a word, he seems designed by nature for a citizen of the world; and I dare say, will be as much pleased with the water-cresses and brown loaves of Sparta, as with all the rich wines and luxury of Asia. Such a character as this, which I describe to thee, can only be the result of good sense and a superior understanding.

I hope thou and I, my friend, shall never know what it is to be like the despicable NICANDER, but rather imitate the rational turn of CRATIPPUS. The manners of various nations are generally as different as their political interests; and it argues a littleness of mind, to think the peculiarities of one's own country are drawn out of the depths of wisdom, while the customs of another deserve to be branded with folly. Thou wilt smile perhaps at a courtier, who concludes with the spirit of a philosopher; but I leave it to thy determination, whether a low partiality to the manners of those who inhabit one spot upon the globe, in opposition to the rest of the world, is not a kind of immorality, as well as a subject of ridicule.

From Babylon.

C.

LETTER LXXI.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

I do not know, whether I am more pleased or ashamed at the letters I receive from thee. I ought not to want a spur to such an unequal correspondence; for while thou transmittest to me foreign arts and knowledge, the boasted commodities of Greece, all the return I make is from the cheap and familiar produce of our own country. Thy letters convince me of the vanity of Greece in valuing herself

herself upon science, as her property, which thou hast gained such an insight into, (though it is matter of amusement to thee, rather than any part of thy business,) that thou couldst easily transplant it hither, were it compatible with the policy of our government. But the true Persian maxims would make the refinements of Greece needless by contracting our wants, and securing us from the incroachments of luxury, which require so many ministering and attendant arts in her retinue. To speak truth, and draw the bow, is indeed an abridgment of a true Persian education; which implies, that our bodies should be fitted for the service of our country, and our minds habituated to sincerity and virtue. The faculties of man I presume, cannot be laid out in a more laudable service. How little pleasing soever the simplicity of this plan may be to a Greek, the great ends may more certainly, and with less danger of corruption, be attained by it, which they propose to themselves by more indirect and laborious methods of study. I suppose the people of Athens desire to hear truth, when they listen to their orators, and these are thought best qualified to deliver it; yet no man will say, that to speak truth is an art, or requires any labour of the brain. What then is meant by the talent of eloquence, which is attained with such difficulty? If it be to conceal truth, or to disguise falsehood, so that it shall not be known, or to give it so amiable a dress, that we shall receive it knowingly; this indeed requires skill, but is no great accomplishment; nor should I think myself at all obliged to a man for being at so much pains to lead me out of my way. I guess the young philosopher you speak of is not addicted to oratory. Doth SOCRATES, who professes and teaches others to study themselves, affect it? I scarce believe so: the man, who searches his own breast, finds, that truth has a right to precedence there, and that the tongue should interpret the heart. SOCRATES has prudently disengaged himself from the boasted wisdom of his country,
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by professing his ignorance and disregard of it, in comparison of that which tends immediately to the cultivation of the mind, and establishing an universal rule for human actions. This no doubt must be his aim, and he seems to bid fair for success; for he, who would prescribe to others, must learn from himself what maxims he could be content to be governed by. He must first draw reason from his own breast; and then it will be ratified by common consent, when it comes to be re applied to the understanding of others. The sophist imposes upon us false principles; and if our reason be too busy in examining them, he intangles it in inextricable subtilities. The legislator demands our assent by the terror of his power; but **SOCRATES**, like a true rationalist, affects not to subdue our passions, without leaving every man an appeal to his own judgment, and thereby distinguishes the moralist from the politick legislator and false philosopher, who equally aim at subjecting us to their own absolute authority, under pretence of reforming our prejudices. This wise man's study of himself may be attended with great consequences in bringing to light the dictates of reason, which are of undeniable authority, and nothing less than the original revelation of **OROMASDES**. The divine will being thus ascertained, the wise and virtuous will have a rational expectation of a recompence to their obedience; and the well-grounded hope of this reward will add weight to the reasons of the moralist, and confirm his whole system. It is easy for us, whom uncorrupt traditions and the books of **ZOROASTER** have instructed in worthy notions of the Deity, to think what is so agreeable to our reason may be traced out by it alone. But if human reason is insufficient to penetrate so far into the divine œconomy, may **OROMASDES** put himself in the way of this glorious inquirer; and thus perhaps shall his doctrine diffuse itself universally, and the holy flame be lighted up in the temples of the west. Thou seemest, **CLEANDER**, to have no mean opinion of
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the Greek philosophers, and perhaps mayest think them worth undeceiving in some wrong conceptions of the Persian religion. When OTAXES, the great descendant of ZERDUSHT, accompanied XERXES into Greece, he shed the first dawn of divine light amongst them; but they are perpetually misinformed by travellers, who attend only to appearances, and represent some external rites, which they observe amongst us, as the substance of our worship. I have been told, they have adopted some of the rites of Ægypt which the Ægyptians themselves used only as a symbol; so insensible are they to what is mysterious and exalted. They have no other than visible objects of adoration; and their apprehension seems at a loss in every thing that is veiled from the sense. Thus because we religiously preserve the purity of the elements, and think it impious by any unnatural commixture to pollute them, which in the creation were separated and ordered to be kept without defilement, they call us worshippers of these elements; a mistake into which HERODOTUS himself is fallen. I once met with a Greek, whose ignorance of my character made him use his national freedom towards me: Greece, said he, has no reason to regret the attempts which Persia has made on her liberty, since she has been rewarded with immortal honour and the barbarity of XERXES will be an eternal stain to Persia, who destroyed all the temples of Greece, from a pretended dislike of the use of them, while still they were approved in Persia. I told him they were destroyed, because they were said to contain a God within them, which was found to be no other perhaps than an image of wood, which had been made and placed there by its worshippers. To this he gave me what he thought a very sufficient answer, that, instead of burning the temples, XERXES should have set fire to the images, which would in that condition have been fit objects for a Persian worshipper. The petulance of the man betrayed his ignorance, who had not made himself so far acquainted

with us, as to know, that fire was a sacred symbol, which ZERDUSHT brought down from heaven, to remind us, that this element is not more necessary to the bodies, than the cherishing influence of the Deity is to the souls of men.

May thy wisdom, CLEANDER, contribute to reduce these contemptuous Greeks to the yoke of Persia, which they have hitherto surprizingly escaped. Who would have thought but XERXES had joined them to his dominions, when he linked the two continents together with his fleet! How near was DATIS executing his great master's order, who was commanded to send the inhabitants of Athens and Eretria in chains to Persia? Eretria was encompassed and taken, and all its proud citizens sent hither, to gratify the will of their conquerer, where they now mourn their servitude. And had success accompanied our arms at Marathon, the city, where thou now residest, had been unpeopled, and her sons transported to cultivate the desert lands of Persia, or, scattered over our numerous provinces, had been utterly deprived of all hope of uniting themselves again into a community. Farewel.

From Balch.

H.

LETTER LXXII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

THE games, which raised so great an expectation, and drew together such a multitude of spectators, are now over; and I believe most of those, who were present, are employed like me in giving an account to their absent friends, of the remarkable circumstances that attended them. On the day appointed for the opening
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of the games, the whole assembly had early taken their places in the stadium of Olympia. The spot, where the combatants engage, is in the form of an arena or pit, and covered with sand. The seats rise round it one above another. The first two days out of the five allotted for the celebration of this solemnity, were appointed for the wrestling and boxing. The names of the candidates for the prize in those exercises, were read over before the people by an herald. Then a silver urn was produced, containing a number of balls equal to that of the combatants, and each pair was matched together, who drew out two balls, on which the same letters of the alphabet were inscribed. After the competitors had rendered their bodies firm and supple by rubbing and pouring oil upon them, they besmeared them with fine sand, to give the better hold for grappling. Several matches went forward at the same time. To obtain the victory it is requisite to give two falls, and renew the combat three times. If a wrestler, who is thrown, pulls his adversary down with him, they must grapple together upon the ground, till one of them getting uppermost constrains the other to ask for mercy. Then the acclamations of the spectators, which continue with various interruptions whilst the trial of skill lasts, are redoubled. The Hellanodicæ present the victor with the crown of olive, a branch of palm, and a robe, on the very spot where he was engaged. In this equipage, preceded by a herald, he crosses the stadium amidst the shouts and praises of that innumerable concourse of people. His name and country are proclaimed by sound of trumpet; flowers, girdles, money, and other presents of that nature, are thrown upon him as he passes along. An odd accident happened to MILO of Crotona. That famous wrestler presented himself, but found no antagonist; upon which the presidents of the games called him to present him with the crown, but as he advanced forwards to receive it, he fell down. The people immediately cried out, that one, who could not

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keep himself upon his legs, did not deserve the honours due to a conqueror. The old man looked round, and answered with a great deal of spirit, " 'Tis true I have got one accidental fall, but I would " willingly see any man amongst you, who could give me a second." When these matches were over, the stadium was left clear for the boxers. They were armed for this rude encounter with the *cæstus*, a leathern gauntlet, which folds round the fingers and upper part of the hand, and is fastened at the wrist, and strengthened on the outside with plates of iron or lead. I must own, though the agility and suppleness of the wrestlers, and their various artifices to give or avoid a fall, afforded me some pleasure; I could not behold without a secret horror the rough blows which the boxers so unmercifully dealt on each other. It is no uncommon thing at these matches to see a contusion raised in the face, an eye struck out, or a jaw-bone cracked, by the tremendous blows of the *cæstus*. *ANDROLICHUS*, one of the boxers, appeared like an object who intended to excite the charity rather than the applauses of the assembly. He lost an eye at Pisa, his foreteeth at Nemea, had his nose flattened at Delphi, and was carried off for dead here. That thou mayest the better judge, how disagreeable the spectacle must be to one, in whom custom has not effaced the soft impressions of humanity, I will tell thee a remarkable incident, to which I was myself an eye-witness. Two boxers, *CREUGAS* and *DAMOXENES*, agreed, on the point of engaging, to give each other notice of every blow. The agreement was ill-kept; for *DAMOXENES* having bid his adversary lift up his hand, struck him on the side with such violence, that partly with the force of the blow, partly the sharpness of his nails, he pierced his belly, and tore out his entrails. *CREUGAS* expired on the spot. The crown was decreed him, though dead, and *DAMOXENES* was punished for his barbarity with perpetual banishment. The boxer who shewed most skill, was *THEAGENES* of Syracuse.

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He had acquired such a strength in his wrists, that merely by parrying the blows of his competitor, and holding him at arm's length, he obliged him, out of weariness, to resign the victory.

The Pancratiasts, Pentathloi, and the Throwers of the Discus, made their appearance on the third day. The performance of the first is a mixture of wrestling and boxing; it borrows from the one those violent contortions of the limbs and shakes of the body; from the other, the art of striking and avoiding a blow. It is one of the roughest and most dangerous exercises, of which we had an instance in ARACHION of Sparta. That brave Pancratiast having received so violent a squeeze from his antagonist, that he was on the point of being strangled, had strength enough remaining to break the other's jaw, and obliged him to ask for mercy, though the victor himself expired the moment after. The Hellanodicæ ordered ARACHION to be crowned, as he lay dead on the stadium. The expressions of joy and satisfaction in the assembly at the brave action of the Spartan are not to be described.

The Pentathloi are a particular set of combatants, who have acquired such a mastery as wrestling, boxing, throwing the discus, running, and casting the javelin, as to perform in each the same day. They make it a rule never to match a Pentathlos with another who has made one of these exercises alone his employment; as they suppose very reasonably, that a person who has divided his time between so many different occupations, cannot be equal to one who has applied his whole time to be perfect in a single exercise.

The discus is a huge mass of iron of a roundish shape, and polished surface. Those who throw it, lean the whole weight of their body upon

upon one of their legs, which they step forwards; they whirl the discus round horizontally, and cast it from them with their utmost force. He who throws farthest, obtains the prize.

The fourth day was taken up with runners on foot, and the race-horses. The stadium for the former is composed of three parts: the entrance, which is marked by a barrier of wood; the middle, which is a rising ground, where the crowns are placed in sight of their competitors; and the goal, which is distinguished by a large tree or post. There are two sorts of racers: those who run naked; and those who are armed with a light helmet, a target, and a sort of buskin. There are likewise three sorts of courses: the course of the stadium, which is only from the barrier to the goal; the diaulos, which is twice the length of the stadium; and the dolichus, which is much longer than either. *DOLICHUS* of Tarsus in Cilicia won the prize; and a poet has made an epigram, the turn of which is, that the "barrier and the goal are the only places where the young Cilician is seen; for no one can say he was ever perceived in the "middle of the course."

In the afternoon we removed to the hippodrome or horse-course, which was laid out by the architect *CLEATAS*, and is looked upon as one of the curiosities of Greece. That part of it called the barrier, where the horses and cars assemble before they enter the lists, by the disposition of the ground and buildings round it, resembles the prow of a ship. It grows narrower towards the end, and forms a kind of beak just at the place where it opens into the course. In the midst of the barrier is an altar; on the top stands a brazen eagle, which is made to raise itself, and extend its wings as a signal for the races to begin. On the sides are vaulted buildings, which serve for stands to the horses and chariots, till they proceed to take
their

their places as the lots determine them. The course itself is divided into two parts : a terrace, and a hill that rises gently from the plain. There are two goals ; at the one is a statue of HIPPODAMIA holding a chaplet to crown PELOS ; at the other, an altar to the genius TARAXIPPUS. It is observed, that at this altar the horses take such a sudden fright, as frequently to overthrow their riders. The superstitious Greeks attribute it to a divine impulse, and therefore make vows to obtain the favour of TARAXIPPUS.

In the horse-races I particularly admired some expert riders, who, being upon the back of one horse, and leading a second, would leap from one to the other with surprising agility. Nor is the address of a mare belonging to PHIDOLAS of Corinth to be left unmentioned. Though her master fell off in the beginning of the race she continued her course in the same manner as if he had kept his seat, turned round the goal, redoubled her vigor at the sound of the trumpet, and came in the first. The Hellanodicæ ordered PHIDOLAS to be crowned, who has obtained permission from the Eleans to erect a statue to the memory of his mare Aura.

The fifth and last day was taken up in the chariot-courses, which I thought were much the finest part of the sight. The splendour of the equipages, as they were drawn out in a long line before the lists, the neighing of the horses, the cries of the charioteers, and the applauses of the vast concourse of spectators, formed a very cheerful and agreeable entertainment. Each chariot was drawn by four horses all in front; the two best are always outermost. The chariot-race was as usual full of a great many incidents. The car of ADMETUS the Corinthian broke down in turning round the goal, and two others, which followed behind, ran foul upon it, and overturned their drivers. My friend PHILOCLÉS's horses, which were
very

very mettlesome, flew out so furiously at the altar of TARAXIPPUS, that with the violence of the shock he had nearly lost his seat. He kept it with some difficulty; but a chariot of ALCIBIADES had an opportunity to pass by him, and obtain the second prize. That young Athenian, who had no less than seven chariots which entered the lists, won the first, second, and fourth prizes. PHILOCLES came in for the third.

On the evening of the day on which this solemnity ended, the Hellanodicæ made a supper, according to custom, in the Prytaneum of Olympia, for the victors at the different exercises.

ALCIBIADES entertained the whole assembly the next day, in a manner answerable to the magnificence wherein he had appeared at the games. EMPEDOCLES of Agrigentum gave us the most extraordinary regale. As he is a Pythagorean, both fish and flesh are absolutely forbidden by the doctrines of his sect; and therefore he had an ox made of paste, composed of myrrh, frankincense, and spices, which he distributed by pieces to all who presented themselves.

The different dispositions of my five companions have rendered the pleasure arising from the company and diversions of Olympia peculiar to each. The pious and humane PHILEMON renews those long-contracted friendships, which war claims a right of interrupting for a time; and is never more happy, than in trying to infuse sentiments of peace, and a friendly disposition towards Athens, in his Spartan and Corinthian acquaintance. CLINIAS has complained to me with some concern, that the learned performances repeated here, do not equal those he remembers formerly, when PINDAR charmed the ears of Greece by his odes, and HERODOTUS excited their attention to his history. The polite CHLO-

RUS

RUS boasts, that he was the first man who congratulated ALCIBIADES upon gaining three prizes at the chariot-course, and was in return, the first of the assembly invited to supper the next evening by that magnificent Athenian. HIPPIAS is not so far lost to his business as a merchant, amidst the pleasures of the place, but he has found time to drive several advantageous bargains. As to PHILO-CLES, he thinks himself arrived at the highest pitch of happiness and glory to which a mortal can attain. For the Greeks, potent lord, hold their countrymen who conquer at these games in no small degree of esteem; they are not only maintained at the publick charge for the rest of their lives, but exempted from the burden of taxes and civil employments.

Thou wilt, I believe, agree with me in concluding, that though such exercises as give a graceful appearance to the body, and form it for military service, should be cultivated in all wise states; yet those ought to be discountenanced, which tend only to breed up a set of idle persons, who, by making the art of maiming the limbs of their fellow-creatures their sole employment, are in effect rendered fit for nothing else. However, one cannot help admiring that passionate love of glory, which urges on the Greeks to contend so earnestly for the crown of olive. It brings to my mind a generous saying of TIGRANES the Mede: being informed that the formidable invasion of XERXES had not interrupted the Olympick games, and told at the same time in what the reward consisted, he cried out in raptures, even in the presence of his sovereign, "Heavens, MAR-
"DONIUS, against what men are we come to fight, who do not
"make wealth the object of their contention, but fame?" Adieu.

From Olympia.

P.

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L E T T E R LXXIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Olympia.*

THE Mitylenian ambassadors had a few days ago a publick audience of the Peloponnesian allies in the temple of JUPITER OLYMPIUS. The chief of the embassy laid before them, in a long and artful harangue, the reasons which had induced his state to renounce their dependance upon Athens. He began with desiring the assembly not to be prejudiced against his state; because, after continuing so many years in a firm alliance with the Athenians, during the time of their prosperity, they now deserted them in that of their distress. But, he said, as the true motive of the treaty which they had made with the Athenians, was not to assist them in subduing the rest of the Greeks, but to join in the common cause against the Barbarians; so when once the ambitious views of Athens made her usurp an unreasonable superiority over her neighbours, those ties were naturally dissolved. That the favours which Athens had bestowed upon them, and the lenity with which they had been treated, though they carried a fair appearance, were intended to keep the Lesbians from stirring, whilst that aspiring republick was insensibly enslaving the rest of her allies. That therefore no charge of ingratitude to benefactors could lie against his countrymen, who were only preventing, by a timely precaution, those dangers which surrounded them. He next represented the advantages which the Peloponnesians would gain by receiving them into their alliance; that besides strengthening their fleet with a large squadron, they would have an opportunity, by the convenient situation of Lesbos,

to

to intercept those supplies, which enabled Athens to continue the war. He set forth in exaggerated colours the weak condition of the latter, exhausted by the plague, the expences of their preparations, and the losses they had sustained; and concluded with solemnly entreating them, in the name of Olympian JUPITER, in whose temple they were assembled, not to abandon a people, who were the first that had recourse to their protection, but to shew they deserved the glorious title which they assumed, of protectors of the distressed, and deliverers of Greece. The assembly with whom this speech had no small weight, after a short deliberation returned a favourable answer, and unanimously decreed, that the Lesbians should be comprehended in the Peloponnesian league. Deputies from the united states have held several conferences in the Prytaneum of Olympia, to debate on the present posture of their affairs. PHILEMON, who watches narrowly over all their designs, has dispatched a courier to Athens with what intelligence he has been able to procure. He suspects that they intend to form a general rendezvous at Corinth, and to attack Athens both by sea and land. It is certain, that orders have been issued out for providing immediately a large number of machines for transporting ships over land. The allies are now in the midst of their harvest; and it will occasion some delays to take the people from their work, which will give the Athenians time to prepare a force sufficient to oppose the attempts of their enemies. This sudden turn of affairs, and the vigorous resolutions of the allies, determine the company I came with, to set out early to-morrow on their return to Athens. The news I received from HYDASPES, that the Persian court intended to send a private agent to Sparta, afforded me no small pleasure. The ministry, from overlooking both sides of the game in a conjuncture very interesting to Persia, cannot fail of directing their councils on the surest grounds, particularly when so

important a commission is entrusted to one of CRATIPPUS's abilities. Noble satrap, I kiss thy robe, and bid thee farewell.

The first of the month Metagitnion.

Extract of a Letter from Athens.

Dispatches from CLIPPIDES were yesterday read in the assembly of the people. He gives an account in them, that the whole island, except Methymna, had declared in favour of the Mitylenians: that the reinforcements he had received from thence, and our allies, enabled him to form two camps against the city, one on the north, the other on the south side, and to block up their ports so entirely, that no succours could arrive by sea. The besieged made a vigorous sally, but were repulsed. Some ambassadors from Thebes and Sparta (he adds) had found means to get into the town, and encouraged the inhabitants to hold out with the hopes of a speedy relief.

P.

LETTER LXXIV.

GOBRYAS to CLEANDER.

THY letters to HYDASPES on the Olympic games, and thy remarks on the general appearance of the country, as thou hast found it on thy way to that celebrated solemnity, were highly entertaining to him, MEGABYZUS, and myself. For thou hast discovered in them a knowledge of the antiquities of Greece, superior to what one might reasonably expect from thy stay in it, and an elegance

elegance of taste which nature alone could give thee. The Great King was so particularly entertained with the copies which he saw of them, that he has deposited them for his own perusal in the royal cabinet. He was pleased to tell me, "they opened a new scene to him; that he had journeyed in fancy, like a quiet and inoffensive traveller, over a considerable part of those territories, where his great father had formerly carried ruin and desolation. Two of the Median lords, whom SACAS accused upon the rack, were conducted to Babylon by a detachment of Doryphori, under the command of ARASPES. They underwent an examination of three hours in MEGABYZUS's apartment; but it was with difficulty we were able to extort any thing from them, and the testimonials they gave of their behaviour have almost convinced some of the supreme council, that no material reproach can be fixed upon their characters. I confess to thee, I am rather willing to suspend my sentiments, till the common accidents of time, and suggestions of prudence, have enabled us to see further into this dark and intricate affair. It is hard to imagine, that a wretch, who died in torments, would lay the charge of such bloody purposes to other than his real accomplices: and I think the honour of a satrap is a point so tender, that it ought to be free, not only from the imputation, but even the remotest suspicion of guilt. I took the liberty to urge this once at a meeting of the ministers, when I perceived many satraps were of a different opinion. For my own part, I have made the most accurate enquiries over the province of Media, by means of several expert emissaries, whom I sent thither; nor do I find among the inhabitants the least inclination to revolt. What confirms me in it is, that the king has not long since received a very loyal and dutiful address from the people of that country, presented to him by the hands of their principal nobles, in which they express their sense of his paternal care for the welfare of the Persian empire; and congratulate him on the discovery

very of the execrable treacheries of SACAS, beseeching OROMASDES to spread his guardian wing over the mighty ARTAXERXES, the peculiar favourite of Heaven, and the favourite of every nation whom the radiant MITHRAS surveys in his diurnal course. A few days ago I had intelligence that OXYATHRES is retired into Scythia. I am afraid he is far engaged in the eunuch's conspiracy, and is fled, from a consciousness of his criminal transactions. ARTÆUS insinuated to me, when advice arrived of his departure, that it was probable as that lord was descended from PHRAORTES, he might be the person designed in the passage transcribed by thee from one of SACAS's letters to PERICLES.

CRATIPPUS has orders to set out for Lacedæmon as soon as the campaign is over in Greece. I have given him particular instructions to examine, in the best manner that he can, what information the people of that city receive from their new envoy residing at this court, NICANDER. The conferences which pass between him and me are whimsical enough ; for while I am endeavouring to find out what length his commission will suffer him to go with us, and what is the meaning of his embassy, he is studious to answer me in such a way, as that, after the conversation is over, the result of it shall amount to nothing. Thou knowest I am obliged by my office to recollect the substance of all interviews with foreign ministers, in order to deliver them in a speech at the council-table ; and to be plain with you, this NICANDER scarce gives me matter for a speech. In that case I can only tell the satraps of the cabinet, how much I attempted to say, and how little he was pleased to reply ; so that the most considerable part in the dialogue falls wholly to my share.

The last time I talked with him, I exerted myself greatly before him, and drew him out, by the mere violence of words, into some warmth.

warmth. As he is of a turn somewhat singular, I fancy thou wilt be entertained with a few traits of his manner in conversing. He acquainted me, "that he is commanded by the Spartans to require a fleet of an hundred sail, with twenty thousand land forces, from our monarch; in return for which extraordinary assistance, they offer their friendship, and a promise to aid us with troops against any rebellion in Ægypt, or commotion in the provinces." I told him, "that my royal master expects from the republic of Sparta, terms of a more important nature, if he vouchsafes to enter into a league with them: that NICANDER could not but be sensible there are two articles in the treaty called CIMON'S peace, which the Persians are desirous of seeing annulled: and therefore we must insist, that the Lacedæmonians shall never be reconciled to Athens, unless we are allowed free navigation on the Grecian seas, and our monarch be put in full possession of the colonies in Asia." He answered, "as the Athenians were framers of that treaty, he thought they were responsible for the articles in it; and hoped so unseasonable a demand would not be a means of obstructing the alliance which he offered between ARTAXERXES and his native city:" adding, "that the empire of Persia was like an unwieldy body, which whenever it sickened, might possibly want relief from the influence of Lacedæmon." I again repeated what I said, and he determined to send a courier for fresh instructions immediately to Sparta. I then asked him the reason, "Why the Peloponnesians, and particularly his own countrymen, who boast of their great armies and extensive power, have as yet contented themselves in the management of their campaigns in Greece, with only ravaging the barren soil of Attica? It seems to me (continued I) as if you made the business of war nothing more than mock-skirmish and amusement." "With us (answered he) war is rest from our labours at home." "But (said I) how comes it
" wisdom

"wisdom has so damped your valour, as that you will not dare to march up to the walls of Athens? Methinks, if I know the Spartans, they would willingly exercise their courage in reality. Can such a people as this pretend to cope with the numerous nations of the East?" "Yes (replied he) Thermopylæ can prove it." "And what did Thermopylæ prove, (returned I,) but the temerity of your leader? However, to be serious with you, I believe you may have some political reasons for not hazarding an attack upon Athens. You will forgive me therefore, if I have pursued my raillery too far, and I withdraw my objection with respect to the conduct of your fellow-citizens." "How? (answered NICANDER with some eagerness;) but if the objection does not withdraw itself, I am in no wise desirous to be so far obliged to you: excuse me, if I am beholden to no one for the withdrawing of an objection, when I am endeavouring to maintain an argument which may be supported by reason." I smiled at his impatience, and he informed me afterwards, that Athens itself was a strong place, and in distressing her allies and tributary towns, she was sufficiently weakened by the Peloponnesian army. We then turned the conversation to some other topics, which indeed brought him again into good humour, but whereon he spoke with a disagreeable brevity and reserve. Upon the whole, CLEANDER, I foresee we shall make no advantage of these embassies from the stiff republic of Lacedæmon. Wouldst thou know my opinion of the Spartans? It is this; they are a proud and severe people. Let them thank LYCURGUS, who has made them so! Unlike the rest of the admired sages, who have given salutary laws to the world; instead of enlarging the minds of an ignorant race, he has more effectually contracted them. Instead of teaching them a little condescension to others, they have learned only to set a value upon themselves. Instead of polishing them into an ease and benevolence of temper, he has reformed them out of it. And

And for the sake of avoiding the refinements of luxury, he has introduced a neglect of that humanity in the lesser offices of life, which adds such a relish to the enjoyment of it.

C.

LETTER LXXV.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. *From Heliopolis.*

IN a former letter from Thebes*, CLEANDER, I took notice to thee of the extravagant veneration paid by the Egyptians to several of their home-bred animals, which must appear at first sight exceedingly absurd and ridiculous. It was my opinion, that the application of them, in their hieroglyphick imagery, to express the nature and attributes of their gods, had acquired to them this extraordinary degree of sacredness; and to palliate this superstition, the priests insinuate, that the worship ascribed to animals is purely relative, and ultimately directed to the divinities, of whom they are the symbols. Now as many of their gods were probably men deified, I am led to think, that there is a reference in these symbols, as well to the qualities, actions, and remarkable endowments of those illustrious persons, as to the nature and qualities of those sidereal divinities, under which they were afterwards worshipped. A black ox, for example, the animal sacred to the sun, is the symbol of OSIRIS, because OSIRIS, say the priests, is the sun, and the moon ISIS: but as those deities, during their reign in Egypt, were the first who introduced agriculture, so on that account likewise the ox and cow might become their symbols. And for this cause, they tell you, the

* Letter xxxii.

soul of OSIRIS after his death retired into that animal, and chose to dwell there rather than any where else; because the ox was the symbol of agriculture. Hence the ox Mnevis or Menes, which is consecrated to the sun, came to be held in such veneration, and worshipped here for a god, as the apis is at Memphis. And this reminds me of another reason alleged for the worship of the sacred animals, though indeed a very fabulous one, taken from the mythological history of Ægypt; that the gods having been once pursued by TYPHON, concealed themselves under the figures of different animals, which may perhaps mean no more, than that the celestial gods come down sometimes to dwell in those symbols which represent them. And without some such interpretation their mythology concerning OSIRIS is strangely confused and inexplicable, which makes him to be the sun, and supposes that while his soul informs the body of an ox, it still resides in that luminary. Near akin to this is their doctrine of transmigration, which may be another cause of their paying regard to animals. For the Ægyptians say, they were the first who maintained that the soul of man was immortal, and that after death it passed successively into the bodies of animals, terrestrial, aquatic, and aerial; whence it returns to animate the body of a man, and finishes this circuit in three thousand years. There is through the different parts of Ægypt so great diversity in their modes of worship, that upon a slight examination one might be induced to think they differed entirely about their deities; and that there was no one general scheme of religion in which they all agreed. And indeed their mythology, whatever it be in itself, seems very perplexed and intricate to one who is left to collect it from external ceremonies, popular customs, and the dark hints which their priests, like oracles, at times deliver with great reserve and mysteriousness. Yet I am of opinion they do not so much dissent with regard to the deities themselves, as to the symbols, under which they would represent

sem

sent their natures and attributes. For first, I am certain that *ISIS* and *OSIRIS* are every where adored, though they are differently represented, and the modes of their worship vary in different places. Neither do I think it improbable, but that the goat at Mendes receives divine honours on the same account that the ox does here and at Memphis. When the Mendesian goat is dead, there is the same mourning throughout the whole nome, as they observe upon the drowning of their sacred ox at Memphis. The Mnevis, Apis, and Mendesian goat are held more sacred than all the other animals of *Ægypt*, as if they had the influence of the god more immediately residing in them. The former two the priests expressly declare to have in them the soul of *OSIRIS*, as they pretend the latter to be the god *PAN*. But as there are two oxen equally sacred in their respective places, it seems difficult to understand how the soul of *OSIRIS* should have passed into both at once. But this I take to have been the case; when they deified their hero *MENES*, who is called *OSIRIS*, they consecrated him into a sidereal divinity, implying either, that his spirit passed into the sun, or that the soul of that luminary had resided in *OSIRIS*. The great lights of heaven were doubtless the most obvious of all visible objects to fill the minds of men with a religious reverence. And by thus grafting the worship of their deified heroes upon the mythology of the celestial bodies, they found the likeliest method to divert the attention of such as were their nearest contemporaries from all those circumstances in their lives, by which they might remember those gods to have been men like themselves. But in order to secure a more particular respect in succeeding ages to the person himself, who was consecrated as a god, and lest the honour intended him might be swallowed up in the worship of an original deity, I suppose those rites and mysteries were invented, which bear a particular allusion to the great events

of his life, or that remarkable catastrophe which put an end to it. And being received into the number of the gods, it was necessary he should be remembered by the particular relation he bore to *Ægypt*. Thus I suppose the hierophants introduced the worship of the sacred ox as the god *OSIRIS*, led to it by the hieroglyphick imagery and their doctrine of transmigration; and tempered their imposture to the genius of the vulgar, who are most taken with the grossest representations. *OSIRIS* having reigned over all *Ægypt*, and after his death being remembered as a tutelar deity, in which the whole country had an equal interest, it is not to be wondered, if upon the division of the kingdoms the chief city, both of the Upper and Lower *Ægypt*, should claim his presence among them. And it being an established opinion, that without the living image of their god, the worship of it could not be rightly solemnized, they both, while divided in their interests, forming also a schism in their religion, sought out for themselves their own sacred ox; and so the soul of *OSIRIS* has ever since continued to inform two different animals, though the priests of the two cities are since become more united in their interests. But the vulgar, blinded with superstition, examine not into these things; and the priests treat this matter with their usual sophistry and collusion; though when hardly pressed by men of reason and enquiry, they seem rather to maintain, that the god *OSIRIS* manifests himself in the sacred ox, than that the sacred ox is itself the god *OSIRIS*.

This worship of *OSIRIS* I may call the popular religion of *Ægypt*. What more recondite doctrines are concealed under the mysteries of *ISIS*, I am not concerned in the present subject to enquire. Neither will I enter into a perplexed detail of their original deities, who are said to have reigned in *Ægypt*. For the reign of those
deities

deities I take to mean the mundane revolution, which I spoke of in a former letter*; and it is remarkable that the time which they ascribe to the reign of all their gods, amounts exactly to the same period of thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-five years. The reign therefore of the gods I conceive to imply, that the sun, moon, and stars run their courses thousands of years before man was upon the earth. The names of those deities they confound with their demi-gods and heroes. I have been sometimes of opinion, that by VULCAN they mean an eternal deity, for they commonly speak of his reign as unlimited; but his worship is not universal throughout Ægypt. Their theology, in short, (as I have hinted elsewhere,) may be resolved into a system of the world, and their ISIS and OSIRIS, though generally taken for the sun and moon, which are supposed to contribute to the generation of all things, have moreover been acknowledged as deities through every part of nature, and consecrated over and over into different stars and elements, as new discoveries came to be made in the heavens, or any where else through the system of nature. About the same time that the five intercalary days were added to their year, it is likely that the Ægyptian astronomers had observed the appearance of five new stars on their horizon, of which their predecessors had taken no notice. And upon this occasion they consecrated their ISIS anew, with others of their deities, and supposed her to rise in the dog-star. ORUS the son of ISIS and OSIRIS, is generally made the last of the gods who reigned in Ægypt. Now OSIRIS is undeniably the first of their kings, to whom any of their histories reach up. And their other gods, if they are to be referred to real beings, besides the several operations and powers of nature, there is good reason to think, were OSIRIS's immediate progenitors or contemporaries. Such in general, CLEANDER, are the

* Letter xxv.

conjectures

conjectures I have been able to form upon the *Ægyptian* mythology. Thou wilt consider it as a subject which a very subtle body of men have made it their study to perplex and render intricate. By the figure of a Sphinx in the avenues of their temples, they seem designedly to imply, that the doctrine of their gods is obscure and ænigmatical. Adieu.

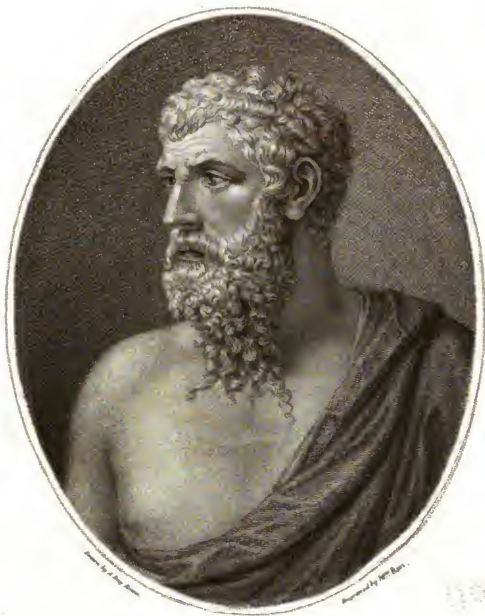
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LETTER LXXVI.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

THOU mayest think it extraordinary, after all I have heard of the wisdom of the Areopagus, that I never attended in any cause before that council till yesterday. And the cause was indeed such a one, that I should have been curious to have heard the debate of it in a court, however low in reputation; much more before persons of the highest, for the good sense and integrity of their judgments.

In the last great feast of *BACCHUS*, the solemnity of which draws a prodigious resort of strangers from all parts of Greece, *ARISTOPHANES* presented a play, intitled *THE BABYLONIANS*; wherein *CLEON* was reflected upon in a manner that greatly incensed him. He was the more offended at it, as it is the first performance in which he has been publicly ridiculed; and having been courted and admired, when he appeared at the head of an opposition to *PERICLES*, he is exceedingly impatient of any satire, which tends to hurt his popularity. As the comedy had been received with much applause, he determined it should be condemned upon legal reasons, though



ARISTOPHANES

From an original Bust in the Capitol

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though it stood the test of a critical examination. Accordingly he delivered in an account of the offence to the Areopagus, and accused the poet, as "guilty of defamation*, and one who exposed the citizens and the state to the derision of foreigners." Towards the dusk of the evening, the judges were seated in the open air upon MARS's hill. The plaintiff and defendant were placed on the stools of Injury and Innocence. CLEON opened with great spirit and impetuosity; and, notwithstanding the disgust which the people in general expressed at this attempt to deter the comic writers from that licentious buffoonery which entertains and flatters them, he shewed himself superior to such murmurs, however affected by the stings of wit. He said, "that he pretended to no rhetoric; nor "would it be proper, or even lawful, to exert it before this jurisdiction, if he excelled at all in it: but that there was a natural eloquence accompanying the complaints of the injured, which, if it "betrayed him into warm expressions, might more easily be excused "than controuled. He understood from the laws of SOLON, that "the republic had a tenderness for the reputation of private men, "and allowed an action of slander; a still greater for that of magistrates, in whose character its own dignity and welfare are concerned; that it was necessary their character should be guarded by "the severest laws in a democracy, because they are so very limited "in the exercise of power. To supply the defects of power, "their authority (which arises from reputation) must of course be "steadily supported. That it mattered not how far the facts alluded "to in THE BABYLONIANS were true; it was to be considered, "whether the illusions carried an illegal reproach. That it became "them to understand the passages which gave them offence, in the "same manner they were understood in full theatre; that the task of

* Quo nomine dicam illi scripsit [sc. CLEON ARISTOPHANI] ea autem erat ἀδελφὸς ἢ τὸς Πολίτας. PETIT. in leg. Att. p. 79.

" scandal

“ scandal would be very easy, if these pitiful tools of it were given
“ to know, that their pieces are to be taken in one sense by the
“ audience, and in another by a court of justice. This would be
“ giving a sanction to evasions, by which the effect of the laws may
“ be either destroyed or diminished. That he was extremely unwill-
“ ling to find fault with any diversions which engaged the atten-
“ tion of Greece, and raised the glory of Athens ; but he considered
“ the contempt thrown on himself, the magistrates, and the publick
“ measures, to be much worse in the festivals, when there was so
“ general a concourse, than in such as were attended merely by their
“ own citizens. That it became every man who loved his country,
“ to draw a veil over its weakness, its pusillanimity, or rashness, and
“ not to expose before all Greece, in a fit of laughter, what they
“ should wish to hide even from themselves. He concluded with
“ hoping, that those magistrates would protect the commonwealth
“ from the impudent licence of comedy, who are expressly forbidden
“ by the laws to write a performance of that nature.”

When CLEON had done, ARISTOPHANES was called upon to offer something in his own defence. I thought the assurance of the man would not have deserted him in any circumstances ; but the occasion was too trying, and the place too solemn. He seemed much confounded, and his adversary called out to him, “ that he must not “ think of imposing upon this tribunal by his theatrical pleasantries ;” which disturbed him more. However, he recovered himself so far as to speak to the following effect : “ That as the prosecution, carried on by CLEON in this court, was singular and new, though “ grounded on a law which had been long in force, he hoped the “ judges would consider well the consequence of it, before they “ gave a determination. That no man knows what he does, when “ he makes a precedent ; and if, by censuring him upon the com-
“ plaint

"plaint before them, they should go contrary to the opinion of the
 "excellent judges, who had reviewed and allowed his comedy,
 "contrary to the avowed practice of the state, the poets would
 "be uncertain, how far they were secure upon the strength of
 "the decisions made by those judges, the publick festivals would
 "be deprived of a very considerable ornament, and the vicious be
 "equally safe with the virtuous from that ridicule, which had been
 "found instrumental to good manners. That it was particularly
 "the business of this court to watch the morals of the people; but
 "as they acted by certain rules, and could only lay open offences
 "actually committed within the letter or intention of the law, there
 "were several very blameable parts of conduct, both above and
 "below their cognizance: that these equally belonged to the pro-
 "vince of comedy; and where the sword of the magistrate could
 "either not reach, or not be suitably applied, he apprehended
 "the poet to be useful. That he hoped the wisdom of that council
 "would protect such as were carrying on by efficacious, and, he
 "conceived, legal means, the ends of their institution. That this
 "way of reforming was wonderfully agreeable to the people, and
 "the nature of the government: that he feared more danger from
 "the increase of those disorders, which the freedom of his pen
 "had censured, than from the opinion the Greeks might entertain
 "of the state, by attending to the force of those censures: that to
 "be the first in discovering and acknowledging one's faults, is an
 "argument of understanding, as to be the last in these important
 "points, is an argument of exceeding folly: but it was not strange
 "that those should counsel others to hide their errors from them-
 "selves, who were so uneasy when their own are reproved. That
 "he was extremely sorry to have a contest with one, who, in
 "the time of PERICLES, was, of all the Athenians that honoured
 "his pieces with their presence, the most applauding spectator."

VOL. I.

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I found the inclinations of the people, who attended these pleadings, not at all disposed to favour CLEON; and the stroke with which ARISTOPHANES concluded, gave so much pleasure, that it would have raised a general laugh against him, were not that directly forbidden by the rules of the court. The complaint was ordered to be reserved for another hearing, and no judgment pronounced. It is thought, the affair will be dropped, and CLEON satisfied with terrifying ARISTOPHANES, and revenging himself by the severity of his oration. The comic poet swears by THALIA, the muse of his art, that he will not spare the currier in the next representation at the lesser feast of BACCHUS.

HYDASPES, thou hast no notion of the satirical species of wit so much admired in this country; and it is a greater commendation to say, thou wantest it, than that thou hast the rest at thy command. It is admired, because it flatters the vanity of every private man to be entertained at the expence of his neighbours; and especially, because it flatters the licence of a popular government to be entertained at the expence of its leaders. Little minds are fond of placing themselves on a level with the great; for if they fall very much below those qualities which adorn them, they are perhaps superior to the foibles which debase them. If this reflection on the weakness of great men, by proving that they are but men, could engage us to aspire to an imitation of their excellencies, it were indeed a very useful consequence; but I am afraid it makes us true to our own failings, and inclines us to pursue comparative, not real goodness. Let me add, that as in considering the portion of happiness assigned us, we are apt to look upwards, and repine, if others have apparently more; so in considering our moral perfection, we are apt to look downwards, and are satisfied, if others have apparently less; whereas, in both cases,

cases, the reverse is the right conduct. And were it followed, we should endeavour to copy the best models, instead of being contented to avoid the worst. For this reason it would be far better, if, as in the earliest times, wit were exercised in the panegyrics of Gods and heroes, to invite us to moral actions, by representing the most perfect patterns, and not in satire, which delights only in pictures of deformity. There would be less too of the disgust and melancholy, which speculations on the dark side of human nature occasion in the generality; above all, in the morosely virtuous, who form ideas of its corruptions worse than its most depraved condition will justify, or the very being of society admit. In a word, the virtue of every man would then be adjusted according to the exemplar given us in the characters of heroes and the natural constitution of things, not measured by the failings of those about him; and the world might be restored to its own good opinion, as well as to the favour of OROMASDES.

C.

LETTER LXXVII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Athens.*

THOU wilt not be surprized, that my correspondence with Persia hath been interrupted since my departure from Olympia, when I tell thee the occasion of it. The morning after my arrival at Athens, a decree passed the assembly of the people, that, in the present exigence of affairs, all the citizens, except the second order called Hippeis, (who only serve on horseback,) as well as the strangers residing at Athens, should repair, without delay, on board the fleet. Though I had scarcely recovered the fatigue of the journey, and was

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sensible

sensible that the accidents of the sea, and the uncertainty of finding a conveyance for my letters, would be a hindrance to the duties of my employment for some months, yet I considered at the same time, that an unwillingness to go would either raise a suspicion of my real character, or betray a coolness in my affection to the state. Within a few days I prepared my military equipage, and complied with a very obliging offer of PHILOCLEES, to serve as a volunteer on board the quadriga, which he commanded. When the fleet, consisting of a hundred galleys, of which PHORMIO was admiral, had received sailing orders, and the wind sat fair to carry them out of the Piræus, almost the whole city assembled on the shore to see the ceremonies practised on such occasions, and take the last leave of their friends and relations, who were repairing to their respective ships. First, silence was proclaimed by sound of trumpet; the public herald repeated a solemn form of words, which contained vows to the gods for the success of the Athenian arms. When that was ended, the admiral and trierarchs of the fleet appeared on deck; and after they had poured a libation to NEPTUNE, drank in golden cups to the fortune of the voyage. Whilst a Pæan was singing, the whole fleet ranged themselves in line of battle, struck their oars, and made the best of their way out of their harbour, amidst the acclamations of that vast concourse of spectators. We proceeded for the coast of Peloponnesus; and after waiting in vain for the enemy's fleet to come out, made descents in several parts, and ravaged the country. We were informed by some prisoners, that the allies had drawn together a small body of troops at Corinth, being much disappointed by the uneasiness which several of their cities expressed at the continuance of the war, and dispirited by the extraordinary armament which the Athenians had fitted out in so short a time. As an attempt to demolish the Corinthian fleet in port was looked upon as too hazardous, we contented ourselves in shewing the superiority of
our

our strength in the eyes of all Greece ; and on hearing the allies were retired into winter-quarters, received orders to return. The expences of this year's campaign, though it has been unactive, have proved very burdensome to the Athenians. Besides the fleet which cruised about Peloponnesus, they had another of the same force to guard their own coasts ; and have lately sent a reinforcement of 50 ships to CLIPIDES, under the command of PACHES, with a supply of 200 talents. They are in great hopes, that Mitylene will be obliged to surrender before the beginning of next summer, as it is now blocked up both by land and sea.

The resolute and brave action of two hundred and twenty Plataeans, is at present the general subject of conversation here. The scarcity of provision within the town, and the difficulty of throwing in relief from without, inspired a party of the garrison with the bold design of escaping through the lines. They began with computing the height of the wall of circumvallation, by exactly reckoning the number of the rows of bricks that composed it. They next took advantage of a dark tempestuous night, and sallied out of the town under the guidance of THENETUS an augur, and EUPOLPIDAS an officer, marching at some distance from each other, to prevent the clashing of their armour. They applied the ladders to the intervals between the towers, two of which were immediately seized, and the centinels killed. A loose tile that fell from the wall, gave an alarm to the Peloponnesian camp ; but as the besieged made a feint sally on the other side, and the darkness of night and the storm, which beat full in their faces, helped to increase the confusion, they durst not leave their posts. In the meantime the select number, that had made themselves masters of the towers, secured the passage for the rest of their company, who, when they had mounted the first wall, changed the ladders, and came down on the other side, where they drew

drew themselves up to defend the detachment that were preparing to quit the towers. Whilst these last were descending, a body of reserve belonging to the besiegers came up with lights, and the whole Plataean party had just time to make their escape. They retired by the way that lies towards Thebes, in order to deceive the Peloponnesians, who sent out detachments in pursuit of them on the road leading to Athens. When they were returned to the camp, the Plataeans changed their course, and arrived safely here. I have procured from one of them a plan of the fortifications of the city, and the works of the besiegers, which I send enclosed in this packet, together with a journal of the expedition to the coasts of Peloponnesus drawn up by PHILOCLÉS.

The advantages which the Athenians have received from a war now advanced to the conclusion of its fourth year, are so trifling, in comparison of the ambitious projects which they formed to themselves at the beginning of it, and the insupportable burden of their annual expences, that several of the most intelligent and disinterested citizens begin to think seriously of proposing terms for an honourable accommodation. But the party that desire the continuance of the quarrel, have a great influence over the minds of the ignorant multitude, and flatter them with hopes of assistance from several foreign princes, as PERDICCAS king of Macedon, SITALCES, and our potent monarch. The head of this faction, CLEON, has lately received a disgrace, under which nothing but his matchless assurance could support him. He had taken a bribe of five talents from some tributary islands, to obtain for them a diminution of the taxes which they pay to this state. The bargain by some means or another got air, and the Hippeis (or knights) brought a charge of corruption against him, in the name of their order, before the Areopagus. The accusation was clearly made out, and he was obliged to

to refund the talents. LAMACHUS, a young man, is lately elected one of the ten generals by CLEON's interest, who carried his point in so high a manner, that it gave singular offence. The opposite party have engaged ARISTOPHANES, the comic poet, to write a play, which is intended to prepare the minds of the people for overtures of peace, by setting forth the detriment that the war occasions to the common interest of Greece, the miseries it has brought upon Athens, and the views of their orators and generals, who desire to prolong it. Neither the memory of PERICLES, nor the characters of the present administration, will be spared in the piece, which is to be performed at the next feasts of BACCHUS.

I cannot pretend to determine, whether the representation of this comedy will have that effect upon the minds of the people, which some expect from it. It has been long observed of the Athenians, that though they see even with pleasure their greatest ministers accused upon the stage of the grossest enormities, and vilified with the severest satire, and permit the fables of their deities to be exposed with all the licentiousness of a scurrilous buffoon wit; yet neither is the management of their affairs taken from the former, nor a grain of incense less offered upon the altars of the latter. Farewel.

P.

LETTER LXXVIII.

CRATIPPUS to CLEANDER.

THERE is no part of my instructions, that I obey with so much private satisfaction, as that relating to my correspondence with thee. From hence I not only foresee the greatest advantage to our master's

master's service, but I promise myself the most valuable improvements from the communication of thy sagacity and experience, and perhaps, should I be found not unworthy, a friendship, which will be the honour of my future life.

When the council of the Great King, observing the new light that was thrown upon the affairs of Greece by every dispatch of thine from Athens, had determined to place an agent also at Sparta, my patron GOBRYAS cast his eyes upon me for that employment. He considered, that the misfortunes of my family would be a proper recommendation of me here. We fell with the aristocracy, and were obliged to leave Rhodes, when the popular faction prevailed, and made an alliance with Athens. My two brothers have ever since taken up their residence on the opposite coast of Caria, waiting for some turn of affairs in our favour. And thou knowest, those of our principles throughout all Greece, place their only hope in the success of the Peloponnesian arms.

As soon as I arrived, I waited upon BRASIDAS, a young officer of reputation, and presented to him the token from my brother THERON his host. He received it very cordially, and expressed his satisfaction at this opportunity of returning the good offices done him, while the galley he commanded lay in the port of Caunus. I told him, that, driven from my own country, I had made the tour of Greece and Asia, and had even seen the court of the Great King; but that, tired with wandering, I was determined to fix at last in this seat of security and virtue, where valour and discipline repel all dangers from without, and an uniform obedience to the best laws prevents the more fatal evils from within. He replied with a smile, that a taste of Susa was by no means a preparation for a Spartan diet; but that he would obtain
a licence

a licence from the Proxeni for my stay in the city, and would propose me for a member to the little society, where he daily eat his fugal meal. I thanked him, and added, that I might perhaps not be altogether unworthy some favour from the state, as I was thoroughly informed of the condition of the Rhodian marine, a point my countrymen were so jealous of, and which might be a discovery of consequence in the present war.

The whole city is at present taken up with the funeral of ARCHIDAMUS. It is indeed a most solemn ceremony; as if this people intended, by so much respect paid to their dead princes, to make amends for the small share of regal pomp and authority they allow them when living. To his character thou art no stranger. He was the host of thy friend PERICLES. These two great men were suspected and traduced for measures, which the event proved to be wise and honest; and they most effectually distressed each other by those very counsels which were branded with the name of collusion and treachery. Yet still the memory of ARCHIDAMUS is pursued with reproaches; and a prudent and glorious administration of more than forty years, cannot make amends for his unwillingness to enter suddenly into a desperate war, and his forbearing a while to push the enemy in such a manner, as would render all terms of accommodation impossible. This furious spirit is kept up in the republic by the Ephore STHENELAIDAS; he, whose violent oration prevailed over all the king's reasons, and hurried the assembly into a vote, that the treaties were broken on the part of Athens.

From the imperfect survey of things I have yet been able to take, I must not pretend to determine the question about this war, how far Sparta was interested in the quarrel of her Corinthian allies; or what credit she might give to the Athenians' offer of satis-

VOL. I.

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faction.

faction. But of this I am convinced, it will ever be my duty to add fuel to this flame, and to attach myself to the party which declares against all overtures of peace. While their disputes continue (which we should wish for in the first place,) the general force of Greece is daily growing weaker. And should even one of the powers prevail, and put an end to the war by the ruin of its rival, that very success would turn the thoughts of the conqueror upon tyrannizing over Europe; nor would he quit that near and tempting prospect, for the distant view of empty glory in the fields of Asia. Adieu.

From Sparta.

W.

LETTER LXXIX.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

SINCE I read over the writings of the Grecian poets, noble friend, I have often thought it might be a very improving, as well as pleasing speculation, to enquire into the cause and origin of fables in the world; how the powers of nature and the human passions were first allegorized; and in what manner the plain facts of ancient history came to be mixed with the ornaments of a poetic imagination. After having made some search into the subject, at least so far as might enable me to converse upon it, I went one day into the Lyceum, and fell accidentally into discourse with CTESIPHON, a learned sophist. He told me, he should be very proud to instruct an inquisitive stranger in a point, which he himself had so thoroughly considered: but I must intreat you, said he, not to discover to any one those sentiments which I shall lay before you, lest some malicious person should accuse me of speaking against the gods of my

my country, and cite me to appear before the court of Areopagus. I assured him of my inviolable secrecy, and then he entered on the matter without further apology. You know, said he, that the Eastern parts of the world are thought to have been much sooner peopled than the climates of the West. The Greeks therefore lived for many years in a state of ignorance and rudeness, while other regions enjoyed the ornaments as well as other conveniencies of life. Their diet was of the wild herbs of the field; their clothing of leaves; and the caverns, which were formed by the hand of nature in uncultivated mountains, were their places of habitation. The colonists, who mixed with them from *Ægypt* and *Phœnicia*, endeavoured to temper the savageness of the nation: and by communicating their customs to them, insensibly formed them to the politer arts of humanity. They taught them to strip the wool from the skins of animals, and to cure it for use. The knowledge of building and agriculture, when first revealed to them, was esteemed of so excellent and necessary a nature, that the gratitude which they owed to their benefactors, very naturally broke out into expressions of adoration. They regarded them as sent from heaven for the benefit of mortals, and adopted them after death among their deities. Hence arose the gods of the Greeks; and their *ORPHEUS*, *APOLLO*, and *HERMES*, (who is the same with the *THOTH* or *MERCURY* of *Egypt*.) take their rise from the laws and manners which they gave to a barbarous and rough race. And to say the truth, *CLEANDER*, such improvements as these might well demand the admiration of mankind in the dawns of science, which are the principal supports of health and social felicity in more illuminated ages. Your account is certainly a very fair one, answered I, and what I shall readily acquiesce in. But methinks the craft of these wise men concurred with the ignorance of these savages in the advancement of fable. For the first lawgivers and reformers of mankind, the better to
claim

claim respect from their countrymen and kindred, were ambitious to be thought descended from the gods, and to have had frequent interviews with them of singular importance. Yes, replied he, a divine mission strikes immediately with awe, and inclines us to implicit reverence and belief. The priests too were careful to contend with one another in raising altars to the memory of a new hero, and vamping up religious ceremonies to be performed in his honour. They busied themselves in writing whole volumes of fables; and he, who had the best invention, generally bore away the approbation of the multitude to his shrine, as well as the gainful applause of the more wealthy. Besides, before the use of letters and writing came amongst us, the remembrance of great and illustrious actions depended only on a sort of family or national tradition. Sometimes indeed they raised a monument with an uncouth representation engraven on it, of the thing which gave occasion to the erecting it; and perhaps now and then an irregular song was tuned to the praises of a celebrated conqueror. Undoubtedly, returned I, tradition is a fatal enemy to truth. One may suppose, for instance, that in order to imprint a story more effectually on the minds of children and strangers, a man zealous for the reputation of his ancestors might frequently intermix the marvellous with the probable; and when he was warmed by discourse, might indulge himself in some flights of fancy, which he little thought contagious enough to infect the histories of after-times. Yet so it has proved, said the sophist; consider only the lying relations of travellers, and you will soon be brought to assert what you suppose. The fictions of these have passed, like the family traditions you speak of, for truth, and are adopted into our accounts of the early ages. At present, indeed, we are aware of such counterfeits, and though we hear out their tales with patience, we disdain to receive them with credulity. No man of sense converses now-a-days with one who has been a tedious voyage,

voyage, without making some grains of allowance for the embellishments which such persons are too apt to give to their narration. To be serious, it is very difficult for one, who is sure of not being contradicted, to resist a strong inclination to tell wonders. Did not a traveller come back full fraught with extraordinary curiosities, his friends would laugh at him for pretending to have made the tour of foreign countries; and he would appear at once uninformed and ridiculous. Sensible, therefore, that he is permitted to enlarge and improve as he pleases, he thinks it becomes him to relate one story after another in such a manner, as each shall amaze you, without giving you a moment's pause to question him upon any. Should we commend the imagination of a poet or a painter, if they made no use of that general licence which is granted them, of inventing what they please, and adorning those inventions with all the lively images of fancy? It is their office, you know, rather to amuse than instruct; and not content with forgiveness for endeavouring to deceive us, they demand applause for deceiving ingeniously. In this respect, CRESIPHON, (interrupted I,) you are in the right to be candid to the poets; but methinks no excuse is sufficient for the travellers. They have received indeed, as you intimate, a kind of licence for lying; but it is a privilege more allowed them from courtesy and prescription, than from the motives of reason and good sense. In my opinion, no quarter should be given to those, who, by forging strange things of the nations they have passed through, misrepresent one half of mankind to the other; and instead of eradicating the popular selfishness and little prejudices of their countrymen, serve only to confirm and encrease them. Such as these may be said to sow the seeds of division among the inhabitants of the earth, and to banish the great principle of universal benevolence from the world. Let us return to the poets. To relate a fact with simplicity, is not so peculiarly their province, as to relate it with ornament.

ornament. The poetic diction must necessarily be raised to distinguish it from the calmness of prose writings. A certain spirit of enthusiasm ought to diffuse a complexion of supernatural inspiration over their compositions, which would appear frantick in a plain commentary or annal. With them every shepherdess is a nymph or *NAIAD*; every huntress a *DIANA*; every beauty a *VENUS*. True, (answered he) and the language of poetry would be nothing without it. How could we relish the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* of our admired *HOMER*, without the divine machinery introduced there, and the mixture of those interesting fables which he has wove into his poems? Do you not think the invasion of Greece by *XERXES*, when he swept across the globe with millions in his train, a more wonderful story in every part of it, than the war of *Troy* would appear to us, when stript of its poetical apparel? In a word, the impatient son of *PELEUS* is obliged to *HOMER* for his immortality; and the fame of that ancient siege is more owing to the warm imagination of the poet, than to any historical accounts that have been transmitted to us of it. None of these represent it in half so considerable a light. An historian would tell us simply, that *HECTOR* was a brave man: the poet informs us, he has *MARS* for his companion. Is *ULYSSES* shipwrecked? It is said, that *NEPTUNE* is angry with him; and the wisdom of the same hero is attributed to the inspiration of *MINERVA*. Thus the Greeks, in imitation of the *Phœnicians* and *Ægyptians*, have filled their history with mythology. The ground of the fable is real, while the ornaments are feigned; and the truth of antiquity is deformed by the ignorance of the people, the artifice of the priests, and the genius of the poets. Painters and sculptors have contributed not a little to support the credit of fabulous stories; and a *Satyr*, or a *Fawn*, a *Syren*, or a *Centaur*, is often indebted for its spurious existence to an elegant statue or a fine painting. And here, added I, let us not forget

forget the theatres of Athens. They are founded upon fiction, and subsist by the reception which it meets with. The poet feigns conversations and actions in the dramatic way. His plot is taken from some fable. It is set, as it were, in motion before our eyes : and if the representation is performed with plausibility, we almost begin to think the tale not impossible in reality. Beyond dispute (continued he) the stage may be called the kingdom of mythology. It reigns there protected by the superstition of the people, and is encouraged by all the arts of national profusion. But there has not been a more plentiful source of fable than the ignorance of the first ages in philosophy. From thence arise many of their astronomical fables and fanciful representations of the powers of nature ; for curiosity leads men to enquire into the causes of extraordinary effects ; and if the true explications are wanting, imaginary ones take their place. Each river and fountain is supposed to have a guardian deity ; *ÆOLUS* is made ruler of the winds ; *IRIS*, or the rainbow, is appointed messenger to the gods ; the sun and moon are worshipped under the names of *APOLLO* and *CYNTHIA*, and eclipses are said to be owing to the loves of *ENDYMION* and *DIANA*. Thus, said he, there is nothing so absurd but the creating power of a poet can command it. But surely one may account for their allegorizing all physical events, from the natural temper of mankind. These events of themselves being extraordinary, are a good foundation for a poetical fancy to work upon ; and we are more pleased with a fable that conveys a significant meaning, than with one which engages our admiration without satisfying the understanding. In this manner the poets choose to blend utility with entertainment, to amuse us with such stories as are raised upon instructive truths. And I believe we may consider it as a general clue to all the intricacies of mythology, that most of its fables are built, either on the actions of history.

history, or the operations of nature; on the principles of civil policy, or the maxims of morality.

Our sophist was now interrupted by some other pupil; but as I went away from him, he told me he would be glad of my company once more in the Lyceum, for that the subject of fables was by no means exhausted.

From Athens.

C.

LETTER LXXXX.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES.

A FEW days after my former visit to the Lyceum I returned thither, and at a distance saw CTESIPHON engaged in earnest conversation with one of his followers. As soon as he perceived me, he left his disciple, and ran up to meet me. I have just been instructing a young man, said he, in the beneficent nature of the gods and the first principles of justice. I found his mind corrupted with every popular prejudice, and unhappily immersed in all the wild extravagances of fable. He was pleased, that his follies were patronized in the character of some ancient hero, and vindicated his own vices from the example of JUPITER. It is really incredible to observe, what early havock superstition makes in the government and œconomy of human nature; and perhaps it might admit of some dispute whether the disbelief of a Providence, or the absurd romances of superstition, have been most fatal to mankind. If the one disowns the existence of superior beings, the other confesses so many foolish and arbitrary tyrants: if the former gives a loose to the passions, the latter

latter debases and enslaves the reason. Every day's experience convinces me of this truth ; and I can no longer wonder at the ignorance and gross credulity of the first ages, when I meet with such unaccountable instances of both in the times of knowledge and improvement. But let us apply more closely to our subject.

The last thing we took notice of the other day was, that the poets for the most part founded their fables, not only on some fact in history, or phaenomenon in nature, but on the sentiments of civil policy and the maxims of morality. For my own part, I am so thoroughly persuaded of this, continued Ctesiphon, that the notion can never be wrested from my mind by any plausibility of wit, or force of reasoning. When we are told, that, after the expulsion of the giants from heaven, Fame sprang from the earth as their youngest sister, can we apply it to any thing but to the seditious murmurs which usually succeed an insurrection ? Or from the story of CASSANDRA do we not immediately collect the fruitlessness of untimely counsels ? As she disdained to submit herself to the desires of APOLLO, the god of harmony, in like manner such advisers, too proud of their own wisdom and dexterity, disregard the occasions to speak and to be silent, the difference between vulgar and judicious ears, and the grace and gravity of discourse. Thus let their judgments be ever so profound, they fail of their purpose ; and rather accelerate than prevent the ruin of their friends.—The thought, answered I, is ingenious ; I may add, perhaps, refined : and to be plain with you, one cannot but observe, that if the priests and bards of antiquity intended by each of their fables to convey some exquisite instruction to the minds of their scholars, they took a great deal of pains to express with obscurity, and in a large compass of words, what they might have delivered in fewer terms with more ease and perspicuity. Besides, you scarcely allow, that they ever

invented a fable merely for the sake of giving play to the imagination. And so, according to your thoughts of the matter, we must suppose the necessitous and wandering 'Asiots of antiquity entrusted with all the arcana of religion, acquainted with the arts of princes, and to have made themselves masters of the several mysteries of government.—The learning of the world at that time, replied CTESI-PHOX, lay in few hands; and the 'Asiots, whom you speak of, had certainly the largest share of it. Their travels to the courts of petty lords (of whom there were many in those days) and to the towns which were then in highest repute through Greece, furnished them with a more considerable knowledge of the manners of various nations, and their opinions in religion and politicks, than any other inhabitants of the country. HOMER, you know, is reported to have conversed with LYCURGUS; and they say, that in forming the Spartan state, the severe lawgiver paid a peculiar deference to the sentiments of the fanciful poet. With respect to their tales, to me it seems more reasonable to imagine, that these 'Asiots always conceal some subject of improvement under the mask of fable. It was the fashion of the Ægyptians to utter themselves in parables and dark sayings. The Greeks have derived the same custom from their teachers; and you know it has been constantly looked upon as part of the wisdom of antiquity. But the invention of romance, for the sake of romance, could only be an argument of folly. As to your objection to the use of allegory, I can in no sort admit it. A soul so aptly prepared for instruction as your's, CLEANDER, would choose the nearest way to it. But how few are there, alas! who have the same disposition to receive it? A plain truth cannot offend you: were it moulded and softened to your inclination, you would think it an affront to your understanding; and you have no sooner marked out an error in your conduct, than you reform it. I beseech you not to judge of the rest of mankind by the temper of your own mind.

mind. Allegory is a proper and familiar way of bringing those to reason who cannot bear a downright reproof. It sweetens the bitter draught of instruction ; it carries nothing that is austere or disgusting along with it ; and the impression which it leaves, though gently and gradually made, is nevertheless lasting. Allegory is the varnish of truth ; and while it takes away nothing from the strength of it, adds a gloss and beauty to it, agreeable to all, and inviting to many. I am convinced, said I, CTESIPHON, by your argument ; and the encomium which you passed upon my temper in the course of it, is the only instance where your judgment can be called in question. But I intreat you to go on.

Another source of mythology, added CTESIPHON, has been an ignorance in languages, especially the Phœnician ; and this I am very well assured of, from my own knowledge of that tongue. It is natural to imagine, that the language of the colonies which came from Phœnicia into Greece would mix itself in process of time with the original language of the country ; and as it abounds with equivocal words and phrases, whenever the Greeks met with them in the Phœnician histories, they thought themselves at liberty to explain them agreeably to their own humour. An example or two will suffice to maintain my observation. The word *Nahhaseh* imports equally a keeper, or a dragon. Hence the tale of the golden fleece, and the garden of the Hesperides. From *Alpha* or *Ilpha*, signifying alike a bull or a ship, they framed the story of EUROPA's being carried off by JUPITER transformed into a bull, instead of saying, more consistently with the accidents of common life, that she was conveyed in a ship to Crete. By the assistance of languages one may trace the origin of those Egyptian and Phœnician fables, that have been deformed and varied by the Greeks, with a view to prove, that the rise of all was among them, and that they received neither

their deities nor great men from any other people. This arises from their national pride, in pretending to be *Αὐτόχθονες* or *Aborigines*, of the country.

The tale of EUROPA, which you have just mentioned, answered I, puts me in mind of another source of fable, ridiculous perhaps and whimsical, but not yet touched upon; I mean a regard for the reputation of several matrons and princesses of antiquity. As it was impossible their chastity should ever be violated by human means, or the allurements of the fairest mortals, some god must have forced them to a compliance with his wishes; and thus the soft galantries of the lover were imputed to the arbitrary injunctions of a deity.

After all, concluded the sophist, we must look for the chief cause of fable in vanity, the prevailing foible of mankind. Our ancestors, unable to follow plain nature, absurdly endeavoured to exceed it. For designing to raise their own characters to fame, or propose their own lives as the patterns for imitation, they described them with all the marvels of poetry and fancy. Strange fondness for fiction! that could make them aspire to a reputation of extravagance, unjustly called heroism, and set themselves for an example in such actions as are above the capacity of a man. How different is the behaviour of unaffected virtue! she disdains the gay ornaments of fiction, and borrows no lustre but from her own intrinsick excellence. Her views are not like those of the romantically ambitious, dependent on false glory, and the blast of popular applause. She teaches us to recommend our actions to the esteem and admiration of posterity, unmixed with such fantastick falsehoods, as may be thought justly an allay to their merit.

C.

LETTER LXXXI.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS. *From Athens.*

THY five thousand daricks*, noble satrap, are so far from creating me a disagreeable employment, that they give me occasion to improve and indulge my taste among those curiosities which thou desirest me to procure, and at the same time are of service to me in my ministerial capacity, by introducing me to the acquaintance of many considerable persons, and advancing me to a character which the greatest men here are fond of, that of a lover and judge of those elegancies. Were my fellow-labourer CRATIPPUS to undertake such a commission he would at once lose all the interest his singular address has procured him in the Lacedæmonian administration; nay, it were well if he did not get himself expelled from that little community, where he daily sups black broth for his master's service, and outdoes the native Spartans in bitterness against the Athenian politeness and Asiatick magnificence. But here whatever tends to improve or adorn life, has its share of reputation. The pencil of my countryman PARRHASIUS has obtained for him the right of citizenship; and PHIDIAS's skill in statuary and architecture raised him so high in the state, that he was treated like a publick minister, and impeached before the people. But thou wilt not wonder at any marks of distinction shewn to artists in this city, after thy adventure with ZEUXIS at Ephesus, if thou recollectest with how stately an air he received thy visit, and, amidst all the pomp and attendance of a Persian vice-

* See Letter xxx.

roy,

roy, how freely he reproved thy false criticisms on his work*. To those very reproofs is perhaps in some measure owing the admirable taste thou now art master of; and which, joined to that liberality, which equally distinguishes thee, will establish a school of elegance in the East, and convert our affectation of the costly and unnatural into a love of what is great and simple. My situation enables me to assist this noble design; and it is with the greatest pleasure I give thee a proof of my attention to it, by the following list of what I have collected.

The two figures of Delian brass are of POLYCLETUS †. In one he shews all the soft beauties of a delicate youth; in the other, the manly grace and the strong muscling of a body trained to arms. Thou wilt be apt in the latter to charge the sculptor with extravagance; but the exercises constantly practised in Greece give a shape to parts, very different from that of the less active nations.

Most of the HERMÆ ‡, thou wilt observe, have the same turn of countenance. That divine sweetness is not the mere idea of the artist; the hint is taken from ALCIBIADES §, the most beautiful youth in Athens. The CUPID holding a thunder-bolt, which is also his portrait, I cannot but look upon as something prophetick, as a kind of expression of that reputation and authority which his charm-

* The common story of ALEXANDER and APOLLO is by ÆLIAN. Var. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 2. told of MEGABYZUS and ZEUXIS.

† POLYCLETUS DIADUMENUM fecit molliter juvenem & DORYPHORUM viriliter puerum. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. § 19.

‡ Athenienses illos Hermas ALCIBIADES ad corporis similitudinem fabricatos. ARNOB. adversus gentes, lib. vi.

§ De Cupidine fulmen tenente id affirmatur, ALCIBIADEM esse principem formâ in ea ætate. PLIN. lib. xxxvi. § 4.

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ing person and most engaging behaviour are likely one day to procure him among his citizens.

It was with difficulty I got the sea-piece of *ANDROBIUS** from the family whose ancestor is the hero of it. The intrepidity and eagerness which appear in the face and action of *SCYLLIS*, as he swims towards the Persian galleys, whose cables he cut in the bad weather before the battle of *Artemisium*, are wonderfully expressed. Great minister, let not the subject offend thee; we love not our country the less, when we admire the virtue of an enemy; and a work of art like this sent into Asia, whatever be the story, I consider among the spoils of Greece.

The victory of our troops over the *Ægyptian* rebels † is, however, a more agreeable piece. The painter, to shew it happened upon the Nile, has introduced a crocodile seizing an ass upon the bank, and enriched the landscape with a Sphinx and a Pyramid.

Every master, thou wilt imagine, was ambitious to succeed in the representation of *PERICLES*‡. To help the want of proportion in his head, and yet not quite lose so striking a particularity, they generally cover it with an helmet. He was otherwise a most graceful figure; and *CTESILAUS*§ has done him that justice, that in

* *ANDROBIUS* pinxit *SCYLLIN* ancoras Persicæ classis præcidentem. *PLIN.* lib. xxxv. § 40.

† Cum prælium navale *Ægyptiorum* & *Persarum* pinxisset, quod in Nilo, cujus aqua est mari similis, factum volebat intelligi, argumento declaravit, quod arte non poterat; asellum enim in littore bibentem pinxit & crocodilum insidiantem ei. *PLIN.* ibid. So *N. POUSSIN* shewed, that his scene lay in *Ægypt*.

‡ *PLUTARCH* in *PERICLE*.

§ *CTESILAUS*.—*Olympium PERICLEM* dignum cognomine. Mirumque in hac arte est, quod nobiles viros nobiliores fecit. *PLIN.* lib. xxxiv. § 19.

this

this statue every spectator agrees he is truly Olympian. The ruler of Athens, the arbiter of Greece, the orator, the general, the statesman, all appear in his look and attitude. CTESILAUS indeed has the peculiar art of improving every charm, and adding dignity to the noblest subjects.

After surveying this elegant portrait, what wilt thou think of the same great person, exposed in the ridiculous draughts of a painter in CLEON'S pay, his only deformity aggravated, and every feature debased? Through all this thou wilt still perceive a shocking likeness; and the painter seems as happily to have copied the abusive description of the comick poet CRATINUS*, as PHIDIAS did those sublime verses† of HOMER in the design of his JUPITER. Such is the licence of the pencil at Athens. But it goes higher, and burlesques even their gods in the story of the birth of BACCHUS, where JUPITER appears in the dress and posture of a woman in labour, with the goddesses, like gossips, standing round him. The enlightened adorers of MITHRAS, potent satrap, may safely join in the laugh at such monstrous representations. To express the deity under any form we know to be absurd and impious; but at the same time we must allow, that to this superstition of the Greeks the arts of design owe their perfection and their very being. The rude image of some god was the first effort of sculpture, and the most curious paintings adorn the walls of the temple.

The encomiums of the poets have made MYRON'S‡ cow so famous, that I was determined to procure it for thee. It is indeed a capital

* The verses are quoted by PLUTARCH in PERICLE.

† Petulanti pictura innotuit, JOVE Liberum parturiente depicto mitrato, & muliebris ingeniscente inter obstetricia dearum. PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 40.

‡ MYRONEM—bucula maximè nobilitavit, celebratis versibus laudata. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. § 19.

piece.

piece. The brass, thou wilt see, is of a different kind from that employed by POLYCLETUS* ; it comes from the forges of Ægina. These two rivals vie even in the choice of their materials.

The lion surrounded by cupids, by the same hand, strikes me much more. Wouldst thou think it possible for that nobleness of character, which distinguishes the gods and heroes of PHIDIAS†, to be displayed in the brute creation ? MYRON's lion will convince thee of it. The boys are designed with such softness‡, and placed so advantageously, (some tying garlands round his neck, some playing with his paws, or climbing up his sides,) that no group, however superior on account of its subject, has been more admired.

The Genius of Athens is the work of PARRHASIUS§. By the expression he has given to his figure, and the attributes with which he accompanies it, he most ingeniously shews us the temper and state of this people. There is an air of grandeur mixed with levity, and a fierceness tempered by generosity. The owl represents political prudence, the caduceus eloquence, and the trident the dominion of the sea. In general, I must confess, these allegorical subjects seldom please me. It is difficult to find symbols that ex-

* Æginetico ære MYRON usus est, Deliaeo POLYCLETUS, æquales atque condiscipuli : æmulatio ips & in materia fuit. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. § 5.

† Like the famous lion of RUBENS.

‡ Lezna, aligerique ludentes cum eâ Cupidines; quorum alij religatam tenerent, alije cornu cogerent bibere, alij calcearent soccis. PLIN. lib. xxxvi. § 4. The boys like FIAMINGO's.

§ Pinxit PARRHASIUS Atheniensium, argumento quoque ingenioso; volebat namque varium, iracundum, inconstantem, eundem exorabilem, clementem, misericordem, excelsum, gloriosum, humilem, ferocem, fugacemque & omnia pariter ostendere. PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 36.

actly represent the idea they are intended for; and, if they are not such as are authorised by common use, they perplex and tire the spectator, instead of entertaining and informing him.

I will not interrupt the pleasure, which I flatter myself thou wilt receive from this account, with business of state. My publick dispatches I have addressed to the chief scribe. I would speak to thee on this occasion, not as the lowest slave of ARTAXERXES to the great support of his throne, but as a passionate lover of the arts to the generous protector of them.

W.

End of the fourth Year of the Peloponnesian War.

A. M. 3577. Second Year of the 88th Olympiad.

The fifth Year of the Peloponnesian War.

LETTER LXXXII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Athens.*

I IMAGINE it unnecessary to inform the Persian council of the invasion of Attica by the allied army under the command of CLEOMENES, guardian to PAUSANIAS, the young Spartan king; and likewise of the sailing of ALCIDAS, with forty ships from the Peloponnesian ports, to the relief of Mitylene. CRATIPPUS cannot have failed to send the earliest accounts of both these events directly from Sparta. It falls within my province to send advice of the retreat of CLEOMENES, who, after adding to the desolation of the country, (if any thing still remained to be laid waste in a fifth successive inroad,) kept hovering about with a flying camp some time, in expectation of the fleet's success which had been sent to Lesbos. The allies, by making these annual incursions, seem to have it in view to distress the Athenians, in destroying their crops, and obliging the inhabitants of the villages to continue pent up within the walls of Athens; and they hope, that the inconveniences to which those unfortunate families are reduced, who have now for four years been deprived of their ancient habitations and the revenues of their estates,

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will

will produce at last some notable turn in their favour. The want of provisions in Athens was so great for some days, that the poorer citizens began a tumult, which might have proved of dangerous consequence. They first pillaged two merchants' warehouses in the street of the tripods, and next assembled in great numbers to plunder the markets; but DIOTIMUS, the archon polemarch, with a detachment of the garrison, dispersed them, and took the ringleaders prisoners. Soon after, the Sitonai and Agoranomoi (to whom the care of furnishing the city with corn and the inspection of the markets are committed) brought in supplies from Eubœa and the coast of Asia Minor, and the public tranquillity was completely restored. The news arrived lately from Lesbos has entirely changed the scene. The complaints of the miseries and expences of war are succeeded by the joyful acclamations of victory, and the pleasing ideas of revenge over their revolted tributaries. Every man entertains his friends, decks his house with laurel, puts on his white robe, and pays his oblations at the shrine of his tutelar deity. The porticos of the temples are adorned with arms, and the prisons filled with captives. Yesterday was kept as a solemn festival, and the Prytanes and Archons assisted at a thanksgiving-sacrifice to JUPITER, in the name of the republick. Thou wilt judge, noble scribe, what occasion there is for these rejoicings, when I tell thee, Mitylene is surrendered. The inhabitants, reduced to great necessity through a scarcity of provisions, and despairing of succours from their allies, raised a sudden commotion, obliged the rich to distribute corn to the poor, and refused to obey further orders from their magistrates towards the defence of the town. The latter seeing all authority lost in the disorders of the enraged populace, and apprehending, that the next step they took would be to come to an agreement with the Athenians, from whence themselves might be excluded, sent out deputies of their own to PACHES, who commanded the siege; and that general

neral admitted them to capitulate on these conditions: 1. That the city should be immediately surrendered to the troops of the republick, and quarters provided for them during their stay in the island. 2. That the Athenians should be at liberty to determine concerning the punishment of the Mitylenians, in what manner they pleased. 3. That PACHES should neither put to death, imprison, nor inclose any citizen of Mitylene, till the pleasure of his state was known. These terms were strictly observed. PACHES has sent back to Athens a part of his squadron, with a relation of the posture of affairs in Lesbos, and SALÆTHUS, an agent of Lacedæmon, and the principal authors of the revolt, prisoners. Along with them likewise is arrived a deputation of the magistrates of Mitylene, who come to implore the mitigation of the punishment intended to be inflicted on them for their revolt. I much doubt, whether they will succeed in their errand. The people in general seem inclined, by a rigorous sentence, to deter the rest of their allies from the least thought of shaking off their dependance. No news is yet arrived of the Peloponnesian ships; several are uneasy, lest they should surprize the army and fleet at Mitylene, who are probably enjoying that security which accompanies success.

If I can collect any thing from what NICANDER has communicated to thee of the views of his state in seeking an alliance with Persia, it is, that they are unwilling to be reproached by the rest of Greece with having brought in Barbarians to decide the quarrel, which makes them not very forward to smooth the openings to a negotiation. At the same time they are inclined to keep on fair terms with the Great King, that they may be able to push on an alliance with him more briskly, when any remarkable stroke of ill fortune befalls them. I would offer it to thy consideration, whether it would not be advisable for the Persian ministry, in return, to shew an absolute
averseness

averseness to comply with their extravagant proposals, and discover some inclinations of joining with the Athenians. I am persuaded, it would soften their stiffness and disdainful pride, when they see a weight like that of Persia ready to be thrown into the opposite scale. I am encouraged to use this freedom, illustrious minister, from the generous confidence with which thou honourest me in thy dispatches; a confidence, which more than repays the value of my services, and even makes the danger, to which my station exposes me, disappear. It rejoices me, to be assured from thy authority, that the detestable practices of SACAS were founded rather on the chimerical hopes of a forward traitor, and some speeches thrown out by malecontents, than any formed plan of the great satraps of Media, or the general discontent of that province. There is a merchant of Samos at Susa, by name PYTHON, a notable man, whom the Athenians employ as a spy upon the sublime court. I saw one of his letters in the hands of a senator of my acquaintance, which relates to an instruction he had received from the senate to discover the progress of the Lacedæmonian negotiation, and sound the temper of the ministers with regard to an embassy from hence. PYTHON writes word, that "no one could personally be more disagreeable to the Persian court, " that the resident NICANDER; and if some Athenians of address " and politeness, enabled by large appointments to entertain magnificently, and conform to the manners of the East, were sent " thither, before the Lacedæmonian representations had made any " impression, they need not doubt of success in whatever they " undertook."

The Athenians are just deprived of their best admiral, by the death of PHORMIO; he was an officer of long experience, and deserved reputation; having distinguished himself in the war against the Samians, and commanded with great bravery and skill at the
siege

siege of Potidæa, and the two naval fights off Naupactus, of which thou wilt find a relation in my dispatches of the third year. His plain frugal way of living was extremely well suited to the simplicity of the first ages of the republick, and is now almost become a proverb. His loss is much regretted by the sailors; for though he kept up a strict discipline, he behaved towards them with great humanity, and resembled them in the honest roughness of his manners.

I was just upon the point of closing up these letters under the cover of HIPPIAS, when DIODOTUS, one of the Prytanes, a leading man here, made me a visit, and informed me, amongst other particulars, that a light frigate was just arrived, which brought letters from PACHES, importing, that two ships of his squadron, the *Paralus* and *Salamis*, being out on a cruize, had discovered *ALCIDAS*'s squadron lying off the island *Claros*. As soon as he received this intelligence, he sailed from *Mitylene*; and though he pursued them as far as *Latmos*, he could not come up with them. He had intercepted letters from *TEUTIPALUS*, admiral of *Elis*, to this effect; that, "whilst they were on their voyage to *Lesbos*, they heard of the "surrender of *Mitylene*. Upon this, a council of war was called, "in which *ALCIDAS* declared himself for a retreat, contrary to his "opinion and that of other officers, who proposed to land the troops "by night, and attack the *Athenians*, before they were settled in "their quarters."

Forget not, potent satrap, to lay me at the feet of the mighty *ARTAXERXES*, the shadow of the divine *OROMASDES* on earth.

P.

LETTER LXXXIII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

THE hideous noises of the people, which prevailed lately for several days in this city, on account of the orgies and ceremonies performed at the Dionysia, have left such an impression upon my mind, as is not to be effaced by any tranquillity I enjoy at present. I own to thee, HYDASPES, I am so shocked with what I have seen and heard, that I can no longer think I dwell with the polite Athenians. It is with difficulty I can refrain from imagining myself transported into a tribe of barbarous Scythians, where the wildest frenzy and licentiousness have triumphed over all the dictates of common modesty. Thus enthusiasm gets the better of our reason; and they, who attend to the false principles of the Greek superstitions, forget to behave with the same decency and good sense in the business of religion, which influence them in the ordinary concerns of life. The entertainments which please me most, are the publick spectacles of the theatre; and thou mayest imagine I have not been so incurious an observer of what passes round me, as to neglect being present at every representation of this kind. These are chiefly exhibited on their greatest festivals; I mean those of BACCHUS and MINERVA; and are celebrated with as much gaiety and splendour in the midst of a tedious and expensive war, as in the most dissolute times of peace and luxurious plenty. For the genius of this people is equally turned to matters of diversion and amusement, as to the humane and military arts; and not a holiday in their calendar

lendar is unattended with martial exercises in memory of some hero, or a sacred procession in honour of some deity.

The Athenian theatre is built in a semi-circular form on one side, and square-wise on the other. The space comprised within the former is allotted to the spectators, and contains many seats, which rise gradually to the top of it. The square part in the front belongs to the actors, and in the interval between both lies the orchestra. The semi-circle has three rows of pillars raised one upon another, which form the body of the edifice in three different stories. From the highest of these, the women see the representation, protected from the inclemencies of the weather. As the actor can scarcely be heard to the extremity of the theatre without assistance, the Athenians have contrived an ingenious method of supplying that defect; they have placed huge vases of brass under the seats, which, being toned to all the different modulations of the human voice, convey the sounds more strongly and distinctly to the ear of the auditor. The orchestra particularly so called, is appropriated to the dancers and pantomimes, who play between the acts and at the end of divers representations. On the one side stand the chorus; on the other, the band of musick. The scenes occupy the whole front of the building from side to side; and when they are changed, shew occasionally to the spectators, either a private apartment or the forum, the city or the country. As only the porticos are roofed, it is necessary to draw sail-cloth, fastened with cords to masts, over the rest of the theatre, to defend the spectators from the heat of the sun. But as this cannot prevent the warmth occasioned by the breath and perspiration of such vast numbers as are usually present at these entertainments, they take care to allay it by perfumed waters, conveyed for that purpose above the porticos, which falling again through an infinity of small pipes concealed in the statues, with which the

VOL. I.

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theatre

theatre abounds, diffuse not only an agreeable coolness all round, but the most fragrant scents. I remember I was last year present in the theatre to see one of the tragedies of EURIPIDES, when on a sudden we were disturbed by a violent storm of thunder and lightning, which immediately obliged all the spectators, in great confusion, to retire for some time within the porticos behind the seats of the theatre. It was indeed one of the most miserable hours I have passed since my arrival here, on account of the disorder which must necessarily attend so great a crowd; but I was amply rewarded for my sufferings by the excellent performance that succeeded it. The last play I saw was the *Acharnenses* of ARISTOPHANES. It was exhibited a few days since, and is the second comedy that rising poet has produced. The judges pronounced in favour of it against several others, which were presented to them; and the prize was bestowed on him with honour. On the morning before the representation, PHILEMON and I were walking together in the forum, and saw many of the citizens going up to the citadel to receive their oboli (according to PERICLES's law) for frequenting the theatre. My patron took notice to me of it, and told me, that he had vehemently opposed that law when it was offered, and therefore disdained accepting the pension which it gave him a right to demand. In the afternoon I had the good fortune to accompany him to the play. We sat almost in the centre of the theatre, and were not only well situated for a view of the spectacle, but had at the same time an opportunity of surveying an audience of thirty thousand people, without offence or interruption. Soon after we entered, the musick joined in one of the most pleasing concerts I have ever heard, composed by the union of the Dorick harp with the Phrygian flute; and my good friend looked round him with that air of complacency and satisfaction, which the sight of a numerous and cheerful company is apt to raise in a mind always exerting its humanity. As thou hast never

never received any letters from me relating to the Athenian theatre, or their manner of acting, I shall mention to thee in this its most striking peculiarities. The first remarkable thing which occurs, is, that the actors are all masked; for they say, the expression of the countenance would be lost at the further end of the theatre, without some invention of that sort. In comedy it has a further use, in exhibiting caricatures of such persons on the stage as the poet has an intention of setting in a ridiculous or scandalous light. I observed a man placed with a pitch-pipe in his hand behind one of the side-scenes, which played a note in the right key, whenever it was proper for the actors to give a different modulation to their voices; and I saw another stationed near him with an iron plate at the bottom of his foot, which he struck upon the ground at stated intervals, to guide them in the well-timing of their action; as if the words and sentiment would not almost of course lead an understanding player into the gesture and tone of voice which may be requisite to express both.

For my own part, I am amazed how the national delicacy of Athens can endure so many glaring contradictions to nature; but though I have conversed with the most judicious among them on this head, I find the irresistible force of prejudice and custom has got the better of all sense of propriety and decorum. Nor was I more pleased with the comedy, than with the action. The plan of it was wholly factious, and designed to intimate the superior excellence of peace above war. It represented an inhabitant of a little town in Attica much distressed by the losses he had undergone in the Peloponnesian campaigns and unable to bear them any longer. The poet introduced this man making a private exclusive agreement with the Lacedæmonian army, and enjoying the fruits of peace, while the Achærians, Megarians, and Athenians endure all the painful hardships

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and services of war. He insinuated, that the people are amused, either by the threats or promises of the senate, and the ambition of CLEON and LAMACHUS, their generals, who advance their particular interest by prolonging the common calamity. In short, neither the state nor its officers, nay, not even the honoured memory of PERICLES, was treated with mercy in this play. In the very first act of it he ridiculed the assembly of Athens and the ambassadors sent abroad by their countrymen, by supposing some of the latter to give a senseless account to the former of a trifling negotiation with the Great King. In the second act, he reflected on CLEON's character with peculiar severity for the prosecution commenced against him last year, "as one who exposed the commonwealth to "the derision of strangers." And the chorus pronounced a vaunting panegyrick on ARISTOPHANES's qualities, as "an excellent "censor of manners, and counsellor of the state; as one who de- "served highly of the Athenians, and had been much enquired "after by the Persian monarch." This fulsome strain was received with a thunder of applause, and accompanied with a new dance of ARISTOPHANES's invention. The whole piece was interspersed with several parodies on EURIPIDES, and an infinite number of allusions to the publick transactions.

When the play was over, I could not help discovering my surprize to PHILEMON, as we walked home together, at the general approbation given by the audience to such unjust and indecent scurrility. Surely, said I, the performances of your comick poets are as so many seditious firebrands, thrown by publick authority among the people to inflame them. Their wit is like the most dangerous and deadly poison, sufficient to corrupt the minds of the vulgar against those who preside over the arms and counsels of the state. Are ye not apprehensive, that contempt will one day beget hatred, and hatred will

will break out into violence and rebellion? Methinks while the citizens in the administration have the management of the stage, it should seem natural for them to mould its politicks according to their own schemes, and make it speak in their favour to the people. That would never be suffered, answered he; you know in Athens we consider the stage, as a centinel posted by our constitution to warn the republick of approaching perils. We are afraid of intrusting the least degree of power with the best of our citizens, and whenever we are brought to that necessity, we have a thousand arts of watching over them; of putting them out of conceit with their greatness, lest they should grow too fond of it; and of setting them on their guard in actions of the minutest consequence. How does it beat down the little pride of ministers, to reflect, that all their measures are canvassed by a comick poet; and that their foibles are exposed licentiously to the publick view, while the ridicule is relished and applauded by their countrymen? But, said I, are not their measures enough censured or commended in the proper places of debating, in the assemblies of the people? Is it not sufficient, that they are examined by the art of your orators, without being humourously abused by your poets and play-writers? Besides, it is dangerous to regard ridicule as the criterion of truth, for it presents us commonly with partial and unfair representations of it. By throwing false colours over the dictates of wisdom, we may give them the appearance of folly; and I take ARISTOPHANES to be more concerned for the success of a witticism, than the welfare of the publick; a buffoon, who could be scarcely grave upon the ruin of his country.

PHILEMON was going to reply, and I would have talked with him more upon the subject, but he was unfortunately called off by some of his acquaintance. Forgive me then, if I vent my astonishment

ment to thee. Is it not strange, my noble friend, that the publick Archons should authorize these satires on the publick officers and measures of the state ? or that those, who are intended by the constitution to restrain, should yet be the legal encouragers of licentiousness ? Is it not impious, that in the very act of devotion to a deity, they should dare to laugh at, and express their contempt for that deity ? Is it not impolitick, that the civil magistrate should not only be accessary to a libel on his methods of exercising the civil authority, but even strike by this means at religion, the support and foundation of that authority ? Is it not more than absurd that every private citizen should be paid out of the public funds, for going, where an affection for new diversions would of course invite him ; and that the revenue should be thus idly wasted, in the midst of a war, and to the disappointment of the publick service ? Was it not inconsistent with the character of a wise man, to propose the law which enacted this extravagance, and at once establish it beyond the power of a repeal ? Perhaps it would not have amazed one, if PERICLES had given money to the people, to prevent them from frequenting a place, where his own character was so infamously reviled. But was it not ridiculous to take pains in quickening their appetite for scandal ? and did he not act unbecoming the greatness of his temper, in stooping to such a dirty and fatal art of popularity ? Is it not incredible that the representation of a few tragedies should have cost more money to this city than the naval armaments of all Greece, in defence of its freedom against XERXES ? or that the Athenian republick should be unanimously profuse in improving those pleasures, which may contribute hereafter to destroy it, like the wretch who decorates the funeral pile, on which he is one day to be burnt ? How inconsistent is the lawless democracy of Athens ! while the government under which thou livest, potent satrap, is more steady in its movements, more jealous of its power, and more tender

tender of the regard that is shewn to it. Were such a fellow as ARISTOPHANES to publish his comedies in Persia, with a view to ridicule the actions of so great a minister as MEGABYZUS; a fellow, who can expose an honest, and disconcert a wise measure, who can recommend a weak one, and sanctify a base one; by the holy fire of the magi, our monarch would put him to the severest torments his royal vengeance could inflict, and doom him to the lingering death of malefactors in the Ash-tower* at Ecbatana.

C.

LETTER LXXXIV.

HIPPIAS to CLEANDER.

WHEN I can find leisure from my employment as a merchant, I often turn my thoughts to literary speculations, or engage with my acquaintance in political debates. It is at these times I indulge my imagination in laying out new plans for regulating the government of Persia; and I can scarcely forbear smiling at myself, when I reflect, how excellently I should behave as a minister of state, if my power of doing good were but equal to my will. Had I been with you at the time of conferring † with your Athenian friend, I should have entered more largely into the argument than you did, and not have softened so much what was said concerning the Grecian constitution. Indeed, I cannot blame the discretion, which you used in your present circumstances. But you

* An high tower being filled a great way from the bottom with ashes, the criminal was thrown headlong from the top of it into them, where, by means of a wheel, they were raised about him, till he was suffocated. See VALER. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. *Extor.* § 6. 2 Maccab. c. xiii. Note by the translator.

† See Letter iv.

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have allowed more weight to his reasoning in the close of your account of it, than I can by any means perceive in it. And though, according to your letter, the man expressed himself with fluency and vivacity on the subject, yet methinks it was rather glittering in the words, than strong in the sense. I confess to thee, CLEANDER, after much deliberation, I am willing to impute the failure of XERXES's expedition, not to the valour of that divided people among whom thou residest, but to the rash counsellors who approved the design of that extraordinary invasion, and to the measures which directed it. Thou wilt observe, I have endeavoured to speak impartially to this point; thou knowest my relation to Greece, by my extraction from that country; thou knowest my relation to Persia, from the happiness I enjoy under the influence and protection of the Great King. I am not, however, so prejudiced in favour of the one, as to give the merit of its success to bravery and good conduct alone; nor so blind to the mistakes of the other, as either to conceal its disgrace, or palliate its ill management.

The chief thing which XERXES wanted, was a true judgment. Presuming on his own deserts, he was unfit to give or to receive good advice. Puffed up by the nauseous breath of flattery, his ministers knew the art of insinuating, without even the appearance of suggesting; and the consequence of this proved, that no man was ever more amused, managed, and betrayed than he, who fancied himself protected from all of them by his superior understanding. His headstrong temper led him into the wildest and most unnatural projects, while he fondly believed the power of the Persian empire was sufficient to support them. He entertained high notions of the regal dignity; and his ambition prompted him to unite the world in an universal monarchy. At the same time, he was not sensible of his

his own want of courage and address to execute the scheme. And indeed I have often thought it wonderfully gracious in Providence, that it did not impart a very considerable share of either, to one who was so desirous to become the destroyer of mankind. As soon as he had declared, that his enterprizing views were all levelled at the Grecians, he fitted out such a fleet, as no harbour could receive; and raised such an army as could be drawn up on no plain in Europe or in Asia. So unwieldy a body of forces was an idle spectacle, not a formidable strength; nor could he, as he vainly imagined, be advantaged by these numbers, since they would serve equally to incommode a retreat, or to prevent a victory. He ordered a cut to be made through Mount Athos, as an instance of his greatness, and to perpetuate his name to posterity; for his fleet might have coasted round the Peninsula, or have been conveyed over the land with less difficulty. How ridiculous was his design of a bridge across the Hellespont! How impertinent were his expressions of fury, when he found the waves, the winds, and the seasons were not under his controul! After much time lost in the vast and senseless preparations, he swept like a mighty torrent over the nations of the earth. When he came to Abydos, he sent messengers to all the Greeks, demanding earth and water, except to the Athenians and the Spartans. He knew how roughly they had used his father's heralds on a former occasion, and he conjectured how they would use his on this. A great multitude submitted to his ambassadors, embraced his offers, and increased his army. After he had passed the Hellespont, and advanced through Thessaly, he arrived at Thermopylæ. There it was the Greeks should have drawn down their forces; those streights should have been considered as the barrier of their country. But some were afraid of the Persian, and therefore willing to join with him; others shewed themselves foolishly sanguine for precedency, and chose to sacrifice their interest to form; many wavered

in their opinion, stood debating on their measures, and delayed in giving their assistance. He found three hundred Spartans, with LEONIDAS at their head, to oppose him. He engaged them; and it is true they behaved with a bravery exceeding the bounds of probability, and almost too extravagant for romance. It is said, the king placed himself on an eminence to survey the battle. It is added, that he was even alarmed at what he saw; and had the Greeks been united at that time, I shall own they might have defeated his forces in the streights. Then XERXES would have deserted his throne with anxiety for his personal safety, instead of leaping from it thrice in a sudden consternation.

One step he might have taken, which would have opened his way easily through the streights, and forwarded his conquest. He suffered his fleet to lie exposed to storms along the coast of Magnesia, and it was nothing more than an useless incumbrance on the ocean; whereas he ought to have employed it in ravaging the coasts, in burning the ports of Peloponnesus, in making descents upon their country, in creating a diversion of their strength; and thus he would have fatigued, harassed, and exhausted the Greeks. But he had a wrong method of making the fleet act in concert with the land forces, (as he constantly called it,) by which he only meant to keep it always in sight, and that it should do him no other service than accompany his motions, and sail close by the shore, while he traversed the land. Whether he did this, that it might be in his power to fly in case of a total defeat, it may be hard to determine. However no measure could be more absurd, more unlike one of a reaching head, or a general of prudence and activity. He had many opportunities of sending a squadron of ships (according to the counsel of DEMARATUS) to the island of Cythera, which is opposite to Lacedæmon, from whence he might have annoyed and distressed

distressed it; but he improved none, and neglected them all. Instead of bending every accident to fixed and rational purposes, he suffered those accidents perpetually to shift and vary the unsettled and irregular schemes of his policy; and the whole expedition serves to convince us of this, that, far from contriving with phlegm, or performing with spirit, he determined with precipitation and warmth, and acted with cowardice and weakness.

The passage at Thermopylæ was now clear before him: he marched through Phocis, and when he had rifled the temple at Delphi, encamped in Bœotia. In the mean time, his fleet, after a violent storm, in which it was much shattered, made an awkward and unsuccessful attempt to surprise the Grecian ships, as they lay in the road of Eubœa; for not keeping the design secret, it got air, and came to the knowledge of THEMISTOCLES, who advised the Greeks to leave their station in the night; and so by a counter surprize they stranded and sunk several of the Persian gallies. The rest were forced to sea, where they were destroyed by stress of weather. The next day the Persians engaged with them at Artemisium; and although the Grecians thought it right to retire, yet the conflict was sustained with equal loss on both sides. Whereupon the former contented themselves with invading Eubœa, instead of pushing their main point on the continent of Greece, and the latter refitted with diligence in the streights of Salamis. By this time XERXES was occupied in wasting Attica; and having put to the sword a few old men in the citadel, who had mistaken the sense of the oracle concerning the wooden walls, he demolished the temples, and lorded it over the empty houses in Athens. The citizens looked for this event, and wisely withdrew their women and effects into the neighbouring islands, while every man who was able to bear arms embarked in some ship. Here was XERXES's grand error, and

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the origin of all his losses. It was his want of sagacity, and neglect of the advice of ARTEMISIA, which caused him to fight under so many disadvantages at Salamis; and it was fear, which prevented his marching to the Isthmus. He never dared to advance into the Peloponnesus, though if he had done it at first without delay, he must have found very feeble opposition. He was terrified with the apprehension of meeting the eight thousand Lacedæmonians, who, as the royal exile, their countryman, informed him, were like the three hundred at Thermopylæ. Even after the victory at Salamis, he might with proper management have defeated the Grecians; but tired with his journey, and dispirited with ill success, he fled back dishonourably on his way to Persia. He suffered a considerable part of his army to perish by pestilence and famine; that army, the thought of whose natural mortality drew tears from the tyrant, but the thought of whose unnatural one, occasioned by himself, scarcely touched his soul with remorse. Insolent when he fondly expected prosperity, he was dejected when he felt the weight of bad fortune; unable to steer his course through the difficulties that surrounded him, every tide drew him along with it; every gale of wind carried him before it; continually tossed about, he lived from day to day, subject to the hourly caprice of his temper, and at the mercy of every precarious event.

The imprudent, proud, and desponding king sat down to repose himself at Sardis; solicitous for the fate of those numerous forces which he had entrusted to MARDONIUS. His more imprudent, prouder, and confident minister promised boldly he would subdue all Greece; if he failed in performing it, he presumptuously declared, he would take shame to himself, without any reflection on the honour of his master. XERXES satisfied himself with the rant and vanity of a madman; he foolishly thought the ruin of MARDONIUS

penius would cast no cloud over his own reputation; and reasoned as foolishly to himself, that he might retrieve his credit, if the measures pursued by this giddy officer were attended with success. He still hoped, notwithstanding his disasters, if not by his own valour or his own merit, yet by the valour and merit of MARDONIUS, to enter SUSA in a triumphal chariot, and crowned with the wreaths of a conqueror; for though he was desirous to be far from the danger, he was eager to take a share in the glory.

But here his reasonings were false; his schemes were defeated. MARDONIUS wintered in Thessaly, marched forward to Attica in the spring, and sat down idly in Athens with his army. How ridiculous and incredible was a conduct like this? He made offers of accommodation to the Athenians, who, he knew, would refuse them. He entertained however some groundless expectations, that they would one day accept them. But instead of waiting till they submitted to his clemency, he ought immediately to have repaired XERXES's errors, which he had now a very fair opportunity of doing. He should have fomented the division; he should have improved the coolness between Athens and Lacedæmon; he should have penetrated into the heart of the Peloponnesus, before the wall at the Isthmus was finished, and spread desolation where he went. He might at least have prevented the Spartan succours from joining the Athenians at Eleusis. In this juncture what did MARDONIUS? A few hours after he received notice of it, he retired basely into the champaign plains of Bœotia. Thus he forfeited his honour, betrayed the interests of his prince, and at Platæa his army fell a sacrifice to their general's temerity and unskilfulness. He seems to me in that battle to have thrown away his life with the same wantonness wherewith he always conducted it; and whoever reads the history of this expedition, as it is excellently told by

HERODOTUS,

HERODOTUS, will find, that after his death the reliques of his scattered forces died wretchedly of hunger, sickness, and distress. In short, a complication of miseries will present themselves to him in all their horrors. The Greeks, elated by this singular deliverance, fought at Mycale with vigour and with spirit. The Persians indeed behaved with bravery, but were discouraged by these calamities. XERXES left Sardis in haste, returned to Susa in despair, and smarted to his last hour for the follies of ambition.

I have now laid before you, CLEANDER, the several faults committed in this strange and cruel expedition. Though the king had so many repeated opportunities of overcoming the Greeks; though every succeeding opportunity made amends for the loss of the foregoing; yet they were given up to the ignorance and timidity of himself and those about him. It would be to suppose his enemies were more than men, if one could possibly imagine, that powerfully assaulted without, and exposed to sedition and treachery within, they should be able to defeat his millions, by the mere efforts of valour, without receiving particular assistance from his gross and frequent mistakes. Thus ended the invasion of Greece, unjustifiable in its intentions, extravagant in its plan, ill managed in its progress, and fatal in its consequences.

From Ephesus.

C.

LETTER LXXXV.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. *From Memphis.*

SOON after my last letter to thee from Heliopolis, I departed for Memphis, in that delightful season which succeeds the inundation. For at that time, when winter begins in other countries,
Egypt

Ægypt enjoys a return of spring; the trees blossom, the earth is decked with a fresher verdure, the meadows are enamelled with flowers, and the air is pure and more serene. In the month of March* is held a solemn festival to Isis. As the goddess represents universal nature, and presides over every element, they dedicate to her a ship in these solemnities, intreating her to be propitious to navigation. The procession began with a company of women crowned with garlands, and apparelled in white, some strewing the way with flowers, others sprinkling it with perfumes and balsams. The emblems they carry much resemble the furniture of a lady's toilet; and several I observed to hold behind them bright polished speculums, as it were in compliment to the goddess, to reflect her image. These were succeeded by a great number of both sexes, with torches and waxen tapers, in honour to the sideral deities; while a symphony of flutes and other instruments accompanied the voices of a select chorus of young people. Then followed a mixed multitude of the initiated, both men and women, of different ranks and ages, habited in white raiments, and making a shrill noise upon brazen, silver, and golden sistrums. The women had a loose head-dress over their moistened hair; the men had their heads shaven. After these came several persons of the most distinguished orders in the priesthood. One carried a burning lamp in a golden boat; another, whom I took to be the sacred scribe, held in one hand the Caduceus of MERCURY, and had also a palm-branch with foliage of gold. The next was known by the rod of justice, and the golden patera, out of which he poured a milk libation. Another attendant upon the prophet in this procession carried a golden trough loaded with golden branches. The prophet himself came next, and after him was brought a monstrous Anubis representing HERMES. Then,

* APUL. METAM. lib. vi.

upon

upon the shoulders of the pastophori, a molten heifer, the symbol of the great goddess; as also the mystical image of that deity, which to me, who am no initiate, appeared no more than an urn with a round cavity in the middle, the mouth of it running out into a long spout, the outside curiously embossed with Ægyptian figures, and an asp sitting upon the handle, with its body entwined, but the neck swelling and erect. The chest likewise was carried, that contains the hidden mysteries. When all their procession, amidst the acclamations of those who bore a part in it, was come up, and had ranged itself upon the banks of the Nile, the prophet advanced forward to the ship; and having repeated a solemn form of words; with a lighted torch, an egg, and sulphur, he performed the rites of purification, and named and dedicated it to the goddess Isis. The vessel was of citron-wood curiously polished, the stern covered with plates of gold, and upon the canvas written the vows of the people for a prosperous navigation. As soon as the rites of purification were over, the yards being hoisted, and the sails unfurled, instantly all the people present discharge upon it their troughs loaden with aromatic gums, and pour a libation into the water. Then the cables are loosened, and the ship with a gentle gale rides down the Nile. The procession returns in the same order to the temple of Isis, where prayers are offered by the sacred scribe for the preservation of the Persian empire, for the prosperity of Ægypt, and success that year to all the seafaring tribe. The people present strew bay-leaves, vervain, and other sweet herbs, before the shrine of the goddess; and with that the assembly is dismissed. This ceremony took its rise from the times of SESOSTRIS, after a famous naval expedition, when he ravaged the coasts of the Red Sea. For he commanded a ship to be built of cedar two hundred and eighty cubits in length, covered with gold on the outside, and with silver within*; and this he dedi-

* DIOD. SIC. LIB. I. C. 4.

cated

cated to the sovereign deities of *Ægypt*. In the temple of * *VULCAN* are shewn the statues of this king, his wife and sons, which he placed there in memory of a signal deliverance from the treachery of his brother, who set fire in the night-time to his pavilion, as he lay at Pelusium in his return from his great victories. That magnificent temple†, according to tradition, was begun by *MENES* the founder of this city; but those ancient structures, we may believe, were no more than the first rude essays of architecture, in which little regard was had to symmetry and proportion. *TOSORTHUS*‡, the next succeeding king, an associate of *MERCURY*, instructed the *Memphites* in the art of masonry, and taught them to square and polish the stones which they used in their buildings. *RAMPSENITUS*§, a son or descendant of *SESOSTRIS*, built the western portico of *VULCAN*'s temple, and placed two colossal statues of five and twenty cubits in height before the entrance, one facing the north, another the south; the former the *Ægyptians* call *Summer*, and pay great adoration to it, but none to the latter, which they call *Winter*. *PSAMMETICHUS* afterwards added a portico to the western gate, and encompassed the temple with a wall, supporting it with colossal figures of twelve feet high instead of pillars. In the temple of *OSIRIS* is the stall of the ox *Apis*||, who is often consulted as a chief oracle, and his manner of returning answers is by receiving or rejecting what is offered him, which are accordingly interpreted lucky or unlucky. The Nile runs on the east side of *Memphis*¶; to the north and west a great lake surrounds it: for an hundred stadia southward extends an artificial bank, where anciently lay the channel of the Nile. This great work of turning the river, of filling up the old channel, and digging the lake, is ascribed to

* *DIOD. SIC. lib. i. c. 4. & HEROD. Euterp. i. c. 107. 110.*

† *HEROD. Euterp. c. 99.*

‡ *SYNCELLUS. § HEROD. Euterp. c. 121.*

|| *DIOD. SICUL. lib. ii. c. 3.*

¶ *HEROD. Euterp. c. 99.*

their first king MENES. The bank is annually repaired by Persia out of the tribute collected from those parts; and the soldiers of the neighbouring garrisons are employed in that service: for should it blow up, the whole city of Memphis would be in danger of being drowned. The inner city, which is called the White Wall, is chiefly inhabited by Persians, who are seldom fewer, including the garrison, than one hundred and twenty thousand. And this number the Ægyptians are obliged to supply with corn, according to the taxation of DARIUS, paying the rest of their tribute in money, which, besides the revenue from the lake Mæris, amounts yearly to seventy talents. But this is levied upon the whole province, comprehending part of Lybia, as far as Barca and Cyrene. This part of the city was valiantly defended by us against the Ægyptians and Athenians in the last revolt. The first palace that ever was built, they tell you, was built here by MERCURY. In that which is at present standing, Sarsames the viceroy of Ægypt keeps his court. It is situated upon the highest ground in the city, and fronts the stately northern portico of VULCAN's temple. Behind the palace lies a beautiful grove*, and from the eminence you command a prospect of the lake, to which there leads a gradual descent through vistas that open upon the water.

It is a common report of the priests†, that three hundred and thirty kings have reigned in Ægypt since MENES; that of them eighteen were Æthiopians, and among them one famous woman named NIROCIS. But the same vanity that has led them to impose upon mankind in other matters, and to claim to themselves the earliest antiquity, has tended to perplex their chronology. They have used a like fallacy in stating the ages of their earliest kings,

* STRAB. lib. vi.

† Herod. Euterp.

unless

unless the lives of men are considerably shortened, since the distant period when they reigned. The first extraordinary event in their history seems to be the treacherous murder of their first king MENES, to which they fabulously allude in the story of his being destroyed by an Hippopotamus. But OSIRIS, they own, was slain by his brother TYPHON, and the Hippopotamus is the common emblem of TYPHON, as is particularly to be seen at Hermopolis. In their ancient superstition before the times of SESOSTRIS, who built ships of war, and extended his conquests both by sea and land, the sea was an abomination to the Ægyptians, as representing to them the detestable TYPHON; perhaps because that invader came across the sea to Ægypt. When they say OSIRIS perished in the sea, they confound the historical event with their mythological allegory, and mean no more, than that the Nile, which is sometimes fabled by OSIRIS, loses its waters in the great receptacle of all rivers. Their coming acquainted with this element gave birth to new conceits, seemingly as wild and extravagant as any I have mentioned before; that the sun and moon did not, according to the vulgar notion, ride in chariots through the air, but glided along in ships or vessels, as through a thin liquid medium*. And one often meets with an ISIS or an APIS upon a boat in their hieroglyphical representations, as emblems of the sun and moon, for which they have found a physical explanation, that the heavenly bodies are nourished with vapours exhaled from the sea and rivers. The chief obstacle to the Ægyptian navigation, and what kept them strangers to the sea so long, seems to have been the want of convenient ports and harbours. The Phœnicians being most commodiously situated for navigation, struck much earlier into naval improvements, and made themselves considerable by carrying on a traffick through all parts. By them the commodities of Ægypt were exchanged for

* PLUTARCH. de Isid. & OSIRIDE.

those of other countries. They first became acquainted with the Greeks, and by them the Egyptians were made known to them; for though many of the Greeks owed their origin to Egypt, yet were they by length of time estranged from their parent land. But the Phœnicians from the earliest times were known to the Egyptians. The tradition is preserved in Persia of their original*, or the place from whence they very anciently removed; and we are well assured, that they were once seated upon the confines of the Arabian gulf; and that coming from thence they settled where they now are. And this memorable tradition in Persia helps me to account for a remarkable revolution, which I have traced out in the Egyptian history, viz. that about seven hundred years after the establishment of their ancient dynasties, a great invasion† happened from a people that came from the East, who after infinite ravages reduced the country, destroyed their temples, overturned their government, and set up a king of their own, to whom not only the lower Egypt, but Memphis also, and the upper region, became tributary. For anciently what we now call Egypt was divided into three parts: Thebais was a distinct district; the dynasty of Memphis was the Upper Egypt; and that of Heliopolis, comprehending the rest of the Delta, the lower region. These invaders have been ever since called by the Egyptian *Hycsos*, or shepherds, a word of contempt, implying a mean ignoble race, who followed no employment more honourable than that of tending cattle. Now the Phœnicians having probably dwelt upon the borders of Arabia before they invaded Egypt, might, as the Arabians are, be famous graziers; and from their ancient situation might early have been acquainted with the seas beyond the Arabian gulf. The six first pastor-kings reduced all

* HEROD. CLIO. c. 1. POLYHYMN.

† Ex Maneth. fragment. apud JOSEPH. contra APION. lib. i.

Egypt

Ægypt under their power, except Thebais; but after a subjection of about five hundred years, the Ægyptians, by help of the Theban king, cast off this foreign yoke. TETHMOSIS recovered Heliopolis, and was the first prince from Thebais, who settled his dominion there, and abolished the barbarous custom of human sacrifices*. MOERIS about the same time expelled them from Memphis†, and TETHMOSIS drove them into the extreme parts of the country, and took and ruined Abaris‡, now Pelusium, their last hold in Ægypt. From these times Ægypt became a flourishing kingdom, and increased in power and glory, till SESOSTRIS, the brother of DANAU, extended his conquests through all Asia, and set up an universal empire before NINUS and SEMIRAMIS. With a great naval force he took Cyprus and Phœnicia, led an army against the Assyrians and Medes, and after he had reduced those nations, invaded the more distant cities and provinces of the East. He conquered Scythia as far as the river Tanais, and left pillars in several places in memory of his great exploits. Upon his return out of Thrace, he planted the § Colchi upon the river Phasis, leaving a part of his army to people the new colony. He contrived an itinerary to settle the boundaries and distances of the countries he had travelled over, and introduced the study of geography, which has since been greatly improved by the sacred scribes. But the first geographical tables are said to be preserved among the Colchi|. This SESOSTRIS instructed the Ægyptians

* EX MANETH. PORPHYR. *αὐτὸ δὲ αἰγύπτου*. lib. ii. § 55.

† EUSEB. PRÆPAR. EVAN. lib. iv. c. 16.

‡ EUSEB. *ibid.* lib. x. c. 11.

§ HEROD. *Eut.* c. 163. AGATHIAS de Lazis agens, lib. ii. c. 53. Colchi dicuntur esse Ægyptiorum colonia, &c.

|| "Εἰς τὴν δὲ τῶν παρὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἰσθμὸν ἰδὲν αὐτοῦ ἰδὲν αὐτοῦ

ἰσθμὸν ἰσθμὸν ἰσθμὸν

Αἰς τὴν γὰρ ποταμὸν τὸν ποταμὸν ἰσθμὸν, ἰσθμὸν

tians in horsemanship. His army, they tell you, consisted of twenty-four thousand horse, besides a much larger body of foot, with twenty-seven thousand armed chariots; and anciently an horse was the Egyptian symbol for fortitude and boldness; but after the military genius of the Egyptians abated, that warlike animal was disused; and by the canals, which that prince began, and others have since carried through every part of the country, for the more general conveyance of the waters, it is in most places rendered impassable for chariots and horses. SESOSTRIS first made it a law, that no person should forsake the profession of his fathers. By this the military as well as the priestly tribes were likely to be kept distinct. The soldiery were then divided into two classes, the Hermotybies and the Calasiries; and a thousand of each chosen annually for the king's body-guard; and these were commonly taken from among those who had their settlement in the Theban and Chemmite nomes. But the soldiery in general enjoyed a certain portion of lands exempt from all taxes throughout the several nomes both of Thebais and of the Upper and Lower Egypt. For the whole kingdom was divided by SESOSTRIS into thirty-six nomes, for the more easy administration of it; and over each were appointed deputies to take care of the king's revenues. The warlike spirit of this prince aspiring to despotic government, tended to aggrandize the military orders, but to diminish the authority of the priests. The empire, which SESOS-

Τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἔστι καλίστατο τάμην Αἴγυπτος,
 οἳ δὲ τῶν γράστων παρὶς τοῖς εἰρησῆτα,
 Κόβητας, οἳ ἐν πᾶσι ἰδοὶ καὶ περὶ τ' ἴσασιν
 ὕψους τι τραφεύης τι σιπὲ ἱπποσπομίνου.

ARGON. iv. v. 272.

EUSTATHIUS in fine epist. ante DION. Περὶ SESOSTRIS Ægyptius, ut aiunt, cum multum terrarum peragrasset, itinera tabulis edidit, & tabularum descriptionem non solum Ægypti sed & Scythiæ in admirationem impertiri dignatus est. Scythæ hi sunt Colchæ Alam incolentes, quorum posterî γράστων παρὶς μάχας habuerunt. MARSHAM.

TRIS

TRIS had established, continued among his posterity for some generations; but the military interest, which from his time was grown considerable, raised at last great commotions, particularly in the Lower Ægypt; and several small dynasties were set up in prejudice to the Theban monarchy, till, in the reign of ANYSIS the Blind, SABACON, an Ethiopian, took advantage of their divisions, and invaded Ægypt. ANYSIS saved himself by flying to the fens, where he lay concealed, during the whole period that SABACON stayed in Ægypt, in an island called Elbo. That Ethiopian prince helped to re-establish the power of the priests, and, they say, returned back into his own country by the summons of an oracle, when he had reigned fifty years with great justice and clemency. It is recorded of him, that, instead of punishing malefactors with death, he employed them in raising mounds about the towns they belonged to; by which most of the towns in Ægypt are elevated so high above the waters. But his burning alive the Theban Bocchoris, a wise and excellent prince, cannot be reconciled with that character. He also put to death NĒCHUS, sovereign of the Saite dynasty. After his departure, and the death of ANYSIS, SETHON a priest of VULCAN was invested with royal power; in whose reign the art military was neglected, and the profession of arms brought into contempt. Then priestcraft began to revive, and the tyranny of superstition was set up. Thus did one extreme lead to another, and the military strength of Ægypt having served to establish arbitrary power, made way to its own destruction. By these revolutions things returned again into their ancient channel. The power and empire of Ægypt was reduced, and the state in the end was left defenceless. After the reign of SETHON they made an attempt to free themselves from kingly power, but the event was anarchy and confusion. Then twelve tyrants were set up by the different factions of the people, till PSAMMETICHUS, the son of NĒCHUS, defeated his colleagues by a foreign

foreign force, and once more established a monarchy. It flourished again for several reigns, till Ægypt became tributary to the king of Babylon, and was afterwards subjected by CAMBYSES to the Persian empire. But the Ægyptians are naturally headstrong and untractable; and by what I have observed of their disposition, they still breathe a spirit of liberty, and are as reluctant as ever to submit to a foreign yoke. Thou well knowest, CLEANDER, the bold efforts they made, both in the reign of XERXES, and in the beginning of this. AMYRTEUS, who then, upon the defeat of INARUS, and the reduction of the country by MEGABYZUS, fled to the fens, still supports the old faction against Persia; and resides, as is reported, in the same inaccessible island where ANYSIS concealed himself so long. He reigns there like an independent prince over the followers of his fortune. But the friends of Persia have reason to fear a more numerous and formidable party among the malecontents of Ægypt, who might be willing to join him upon any desperate undertaking; and I am persuaded, that whenever an occasion offers, their attempts to become independent of Persia will be no less vigorous than they have heretofore been. Adieu.

L.

L E T T E R LXXXVI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. From Athens.

I DEFERRED sending an account of the conclusion which is at last put to the business of Mitylene, till the various turns, which it has passed through, were over, and till I was able, by conversing with the principal persons who conducted the deliberations of the republick in the course of the affair, to lay before thee impartially the

the reasons which induced the people to inflict the utmost, I may say the most extravagant severities, with regard to the unfortunate Mitylenians, in the first decree, and to soften the rigor of them in so remarkable a manner in the second, within the compass of a very few days.

I mentioned in former dispatches, that the Athenians seemed inclined to come to the extremest resolutions in punishing the revolt of Mitylene, as well to terrify the rest of their allies from shaking off their dependance, as to gratify that warm resentment which inflamed them against the inhabitants of Lesbos, from whom they least expected that such an ungrateful return would be made to their favours, and an example set to the other tributary islands, which might prove so prejudicial to the interests of this state. For these reasons, not to mention the naturally quick and sensible temper of the Athenians, and the flow of spirits into which every instance of good fortune throws them, it is no wonder that, pushed on by the orators of CLEON's party, they have passed the following decree in the first assembly which they held upon the punishment of the Mitylenians :

" Under the archonship of EUCLIDES, on the fifth day of the
 " month Hecatombæon, THRASICLES, the son of MIDIAS, of the
 " tribe of CECROPS, moved ; That whereas the inhabitants of Lesbos
 " had, soon after the Persian war, concluded an alliance with the
 " commonwealth of Athens, by which they oblige themselves to
 " pay yearly the sum of fifteen talents, and furnish a squadron of
 " ships when demanded ; and likewise to remain firm allies to this
 " state, as well in defence of the general liberties of Greece, as
 " the rights and prerogatives of Athens in particular ; and whereas
 " the Athenians, in a just sense of the advantages they received
 " from

VOL. I.

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“ from this alliance, conferred immunities and privileges on the
“ habitants of Lesbos, greater than those they bestowed on any other
“ people in their dependance; and whereas the Lesbians, ungrate-
“ fully forgetting these benefits, did, on pretences void of all foun-
“ dation, not only violate the treaty they have entered into, by
“ withdrawing the stipulated supplies of ships and money, but like-
“ wise wholly desert the interests of the republick in the midst of
“ a dangerous and expensive war, and by adding to the number of
“ its enemies, contribute as far as in them lay to its utter ruin; and
“ whereas the Athenians, aided by the gods, the revengers of
“ infringed leagues, and the justice of the divine NEMESIS, have
“ reduced the city Mitylene to surrender at discretion; be it decreed
“ by the senate and people of Athens, that for the punishment of
“ these numerous injuries, for a warning to the rest of their allies
“ who have yet preserved their fidelity unshaken, and for the assert-
“ ing of those rights which an infraction of the most sacred ties
“ gives over a perjured ally, that the inhabitants of Mitylene, who
“ have attained the age of manhood, be, without distinction, put to
“ death, and the women and children reduced to slavery, and sold
“ by lots; and let CHARES, DION, and POLYCRATES, be chosen to
“ see this decree put in execution.”

The faction, which drove on the people to these extremities, were so eager to put the last hand to their detestable cruelty, that they prevailed with them, that a galley should be immediately dispatched with the three commissioners on board, and orders to PACHES to carry the decree into execution. The day after they were sailed, the Athenians, agreeably to their character, began to soften; they found several citizens of authority amongst them did not approve of this severity; and thought a less degree of punishment not only more generous, but more prudent. At the same time the Mitylenian deputies used
infinite

infinite art and industry, that the affair might be again debated; and by the force of their personal applications with men of honesty and good-nature, and motives of a less liberal kind with those of mercenary dispositions, obtained of the Prytanes, that another assembly should be convened to decide the business. When the people were met together in a great square near the citadel, and the usual sacrifices and lustrations were performed, a prayer was offered up for a blessing on the counsels of the republick. After the publick crier had proclaimed thrice with a loud voice, ΤΙΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ ΔΙΑΤΟΠΕΙΝ; Who will give his opinion? I was very well pleased to see my friend PHILEMON, so often mentioned in the course of these letters, step forward with a placid dignity, and mount the tribunal. He began with telling the people, that as sickness had prevented him from giving his opinion upon the affair in question the first time it was debated, he was extremely glad they had resumed their consultations, that he might have an opportunity of using that freedom in speaking his sentiments which they always allowed him. He was sorry to find, that the continuance of the war seemed not only to have effaced the impressions of humanity from their minds, but had even produced a disregard for the soundest maxims of policy. That it was a known observation, excessive punishments were far from having the effect proposed; they rather occasioned despair in the guilty, which was often the parent in them of efforts above their natural strength to recover their freedom, and to revenge themselves upon their oppressors. At the same time, the heightening the punishment with cruelty, exposed the inflictors to the hatred of their allies, who were justly apprehensive of the case becoming their own on the slightest ground of offence, and to the redoubled vigour of their enemies, to whom such proceedings appeared like a resolution never to sheath the sword. He desired them to observe, he did not speak against punishing the authors of a revolt; that was a piece of

justice due both to themselves and the gods ; but only against that indiscriminate sentence, which involved the innocent with the guilty, the misguided with the misguiders. He then put them in mind of recovering that reputation which they had formerly enjoyed for gentleness and lenity, and which of late years he was grieved to say they had forfeited. He concluded thus : " Athenians, I have given " that opinion which I think not only most honourable, but most " advantageous for you. Let it not be said in Greece, that whilst " Athens boast of being the only city which has erected in one of " its streets an altar to Compassion, the influence of that amiable " divinity is totally erased from the hearts of its citizens."

The speech of PHILEMON was received with great approbation by his party ; but it was immediately answered by orators of the other side, and the debate insensibly grew warm. CLEON at last rose, and with a vehemence both of action and utterance, harangued the assembly to the following effect : " That what had passed that day, was " to him a sufficient proof, that a republican government was, of all " others, the most improper to maintain authority. By putting an " affair of this nature in deliberation, after it had been once resolved, " they shewed a softness in their nature, and an unsteadiness in their " counsels, which would encourage their allies to rise against them " upon every occasion. They could not surely be ignorant, that the " authority they exercised over those allies was merely an usurped " one ; and that no favours they could bestow would be sufficient to " prevent their seizing every opportunity to recover their independence. That in order to keep them steady to their first decree, " he imagined he needed only put them in mind of the injuries " which they had suffered from the Lesbians, who, both by their " situation as an isle, and their power as a nation, were out of all " danger of being enslaved by the Athenian arms ; so that their re-
" volt

“ volt proceeded from no other motive than the restless humour of
“ mankind, which induces them to prefer a new and uncertain state
“ of affairs to their present condition, however happy. He declared;
“ he saw no reason for excepting any out of the punishment, since
“ they were all equally concerned in the crime ; and exhorted the
“ people to make an example of severity, which might keep their
“ allies within the bounds of duty, whilst they were opposing the
“ attempts of their numerous enemies.”

The faction of CLEON testified, by clamours of applause, that his sentiments met with their concurrence. At the close of the debate DIODOTUS enforced the arguments for mercy in a very elaborate speech. He told the assembly, that their debating twice upon an affair of this importance, was an argument to him of their wisdom ; since there were no greater enemies to prudent counsels than anger and precipitation. He did not think the point in debate was, whether the Lesbians were guilty or not ; that was a point allowed on all hands ; but whether the decree which they had passed two days before, was for the advantage of the state. On this head he observed, that in all cases of revolt a door should be left open for repentance ; and it was more particularly reasonable with regard to a people, who being once free, could not be blamed for endeavouring to efface every mark of dependance. The argument he chiefly urged was, that as Greece and the adjacent isles were divided into the popular and aristocratical parties, the former of which sided with Athens, the latter wished well to the Peloponnesian cause, they ought to consider, that, by involving all the inhabitants of Mitylene in the punishment, the severity of it would fall heaviest upon their friends of the popular faction, who, as soon as they had seized the power, surrendered the city to the army of the republick. For these and other reasons (which I should tire thee with repeating) he moved,
“ That

“That the former decree should be repealed, and the authors of the revolt only, amounting to about a thousand of the magistrates and rich citizens of Mitylene, be put to death; that the fortifications of the place should be demolished; their ships delivered up; and their land divided into two parts; the one to be dedicated to the service of the gods, the other to be shared out in lots to an Athenian colony.”

The motion of DROBORUS passed, on a division, but by a very few voices; and a galley was immediately dispatched with a repeal of the former decree. The rowers, encouraged by the promises and rewards of the Mitylenian deputies, made such expedition as to arrive at Mitylene just time enough to prevent PACES and the commissioners from putting their first orders in execution. Thou wilt easily imagine, with how much joy this news was received by the inhabitants of Mitylene, who had nothing before their eyes but the preparations and executioners of their punishment.

I need not suggest to thee, enlightened minister, that the Athenians, by carrying their resentment so far against the revolted allies, and expressing the utmost unwillingness to afford the least hopes of pardon to those who may follow their example, point out themselves in what manner a war may be carried on against them to most advantage. For when once the colonies and tributary islands forsake this republic, and either set up governments of their own, or seek the protection of a stronger power, one may foretel, without divination, that the ruin of Athens is at hand. Farewel.

P.

LETTER LXXXVII.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

EVERY art, HYDASPES, that tends to the comfort or ornament of human life, took its first rise either from necessity or convenience ; and I believe it often happens, that chance sketches out the rude design, which is afterwards improved, matured, and polished by reflection. That this was eminently the case in the origin of theatrical representations, is agreed on all hands. Tragedy and comedy were nothing more in their beginnings than hymns to BACCHUS, whom my friend CTESIPHON the sophist considers in no other light than that of the best vine-dresser of antiquity. Some of his followers one day accidentally found a goat browsing in their vineyard. They took and sacrificed it to their dead, and perhaps deified, master, from motives of gratitude, as well as interest. The neighbours were called in, who joined with them in songs and dances ; and the revelling being approved of by the company, was soon converted, we may suppose, into an annual solemnity. The persons who performed these extemporal hymns, either alternately or all together, were in succeeding times called the chorus. This custom was transferred into their cities, and the subject of it was very much altered ; for the composers of the songs having almost exhausted their imagination, by constantly exercising it on the same argument, recited the actions of some illustrious hero with the praises of BACCHUS. Thus the thing continued till the days of THESPIA, who is allowed to have been the first who enlarged the scheme, and abolishing these rough and uncouth dithyrambs, (as the Greeks call them,)

them,) introduced just and regular entertainments of written poems. In aid of the chorus he brought a single actor upon the stage, who at fit intervals came out from the rest, and amused the audience with an account of the exploits of famous men; then retired again, when the chorus had taken breath, which was still the most considerable part of the performance. However, by this means a new turn was given to it; the business of the chorus was lessened, and something like a plot or fable was introduced. *THESPI*s went about the villages in carts, daubed the faces of his actors with lees of wine, and contended for the premium of tragedy, a Goat; while others vied for the premium of comedy, a basket of Figs and a vessel of Wine. He lived about the time of *SOLON*, who, by procuring an order from the court of *Areopagus*, obliged him to lay down an employment so unprofitable to the state. That acute and penetrating lawgiver foresaw the consequences that would ensue, and (the Athenians say) in the spirit of divination foretold them.

ÆSCHYLUS improved upon this model, by adding a second actor, and diversifying the fable. As he was extremely diligent in the study of *HOMER*, he set the *Iliad* before his eyes as the standard of poetry. He observed the vivacity of the dialogues introduced there, and considered how much more agreeable they would appear, if exhibited in such a manner, as to seem real, and to flow naturally from the passions, sentiments, and behaviour of common life. Hence he thought of casting his plays into the form of conversation. By this time the chorus, which was at first the principal part of tragedy, was only an accessory ornament of it, and employed to relieve the actors, as the actors were before admitted to relieve that. Nay, the chorus, which was anciently the play itself, now served only to express the sentiments of the by-standers, to take the side of injured innocence and virtue, and to suggest such reflections as the well-minded part of
the

the audience might reasonably be supposed to make. *ÆSCHYLUS* taught the persons concerned in it, to make those movements in their dances, which are called the strophe and antistrophe. The first of them is from east to west, and intended to signify the diurnal course of the sun; the second is the reverse of that motion. After some time they sing the epode, in concert with the musical instruments, and stand still in the middle of the stage, intimating, by a quaint conceit, the stability of the earth in the centre. While *THESPIAS* lived, the players had no regular place of representation, but contented themselves with the moveable stage I have named to you. *ÆSCHYLUS*, as he was received with publick honours and encouragement in Athens after the death of *SOLON*, employed *AGATHARCHUS*, a skilful architect, to build a theatre at the expence of the state, and to contrive the decorations and scenery. He furnished his actors with masks, dressed them in flowing robes, agreeably to the characters they sustained on different occasions, and by the assistance of buskins advanced them to the fancied tallness of heroes. In this he accommodated himself to the prejudices of the multitude, who even to this day entertain a notion, that all the ancient warriors, except little *TYDEUS*, were of a size beyond the common standard of nature.

Thus is *ÆSCHYLUS* become the father of dramattick poetry; and as it is a greater instance of genius to invent than to improve, he may deserve perhaps more regard than any who have succeeded him. He has written one play, which is an aggravated description, but indeed finely drawn, of the distress of *XERXES* and his army in the late invasion; and represents the faithless and corrupted Persians as destitute of the favour of *OROMASDES*, while Greece was under the influence and protection of her guardian deities. The reading of

this play has suggested one thing to me, with which I will conclude this letter; and though it may be thought perhaps by some a very laudable partiality, I can by no means approve it in *ÆSCHYLUS*, notwithstanding his great qualities: I mean, that whether the story will admit of it or no, yet the composers of tragedy, like their brethren the comick poets, love to wrest and warp the sentiments which arise from it, to the circumstances of the present times; they make frequent allusions to the ministers of state, and the measures pursued by their countrymen. They place every thing in a subordinate light to this arrogant republic: the strongest ties of decency and interest can preserve no government in Greece from these invidious comparisons; and her sister-city Lacedæmon, with their common enemy the Persian, are equally exposed to this abuse. Indeed it ought not to be wondered at, since an indifferent poet may recommend himself by this article to an Athenian audience; and the excellent *EURIPIDES*, from a fatal error in so essential a particular, has more than once been forced to yield to a cringing competitor. In a word, *HYDASPES*, they are so zealous in doing justice to their national merit, that they take sometimes to themselves what was hardly intended by the writer; and are so fond of the least incense which is offered to their vanity, that they receive with eagerness the grateful tribute, and applaud not so much the good sense, as the flattery of the poet.

From Athens.

C.

L E T T E R LXXXVIII.

HYDASPES to CLEANDER. *From Susa.*

DURING your stay at Susa, some years ago, you must have seen NEHEMIAH, the king's cup-bearer. Though it did not fall in your way to make an acquaintance with him, or to hear any account of him, that might engage your attention, yet I will venture to affirm, if you knew as much of him as I do, you would give him a very honourable place both in your esteem and your affections. He is by nation a Jew, and the son of one HACHALIAH, who, notwithstanding the encouragement shewn to that province by our monarch and his predecessors, chose rather to dwell in Susa, than with his countrymen in the land inhabited by their ancestors. It was by means of the old man's continual residence in this city, and the humility of his deportment, that his son was raised by degress to a considerable office near the king's person, and enjoyed a large share of the royal favour. The queen's interest, joined to NEHEMIAH's, after a faithful attendance at court, procured him a commission of great importance to the distressed people of Judæa, which invested him with a power of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, settling the citizens in tranquillity, restoring their commerce, regulating the abuses that had crept into the customs enjoined them by their law; in short, of making them satisfactory amends for a long and harassing captivity. Thus the indolence of the father, though complained of by his country, proved of real service to it, as it opened a way to the activity of the son to exert itself in re-establishing the singular and boasted policy of the Jews. So true is it, that OROMASDES

works by methods unknown to men, to ends as unforeseen by them.

For many years NEHEMIAH was looked upon as a crafty and finished courtier, much attached to the interests of his nation, and, as those who hated him said, not a little to his own. For the gracious ARTAXERXES heaped on him great wealth, which was pretended to have been either illegally extorted by the sale of offices in his gift, or to have been cunningly procured from the king by every abject art of flattery and dissimulation. I, who knew him better, always saw him in an amiable light, but till lately never saw him in a striking one. Since his last return from Palestine, I have had frequent conversations with him, and find, on examining into the state and history of the Jews, that I have hitherto received imperfect information concerning them; and, notwithstanding the more perfect information I have now received, I confess, CLEANDER, my delicacy is scarcely reconciled to them, either prejudice or common sense sticks so close to me.

NEHEMIAH is busy in soliciting a renewal of the powers formerly granted to him, which are just expired. During his government he administered justice with fidelity, and supported the authority of his master with unusual magnificence. He lived among his people twelve years, and executed all, or even more than could be expected from the most dextrous. Animated by his presence, they fortified and rebuilt Jerusalem, insomuch that it vies with Sardis in grandeur; and to defend themselves from the incursions of their enemies, while they carried on the works, held their swords in one hand, and their trowels in the other. His table was open every day to an hundred and fifty chiefs among the Jews, and hospitably admitted strangers, who came from all parts to be witnesses of the thriving

thriving condition of his province. Whoever appeared in the city of any figure, was invited to the governor's house, received with courtesy, and entertained with liberality. There were constantly provided in his kitchen one ox and six choice sheep, and he treated his guests with the various wines of the East, and the Coan of the Greeks. These expences he bore out of his own revenues, not only without laying any new tax on Judæa, but without accepting the regular income, by which those who had gone before him in that office were supported. This shews the spirit and temper of the man. The bounty of the king had enriched him; and he, from a sense of gratitude to his prince, and a love to his country, is well pleased with bestowing those riches to the honour, and in the service of both

The Jews (a nation the most stubbornly bigotted to themselves) tell you, that when they were prosperous and independent, their constitution was founded on the narrow-minded scheme of separation from the converse of their neighbours, and a total exclusion from the arts and manners of other countries. They speak in the highest terms of their lawgiver, who was either an inspired prophet, a designing knave, or a warm-headed enthusiast; and being reputed the son of a king of Ægypt's daughter, though descended from a Jew, was educated in the schools of Ægyptian learning and legislation. Pretending to be supernaturally assisted, he rescued his fellows in a most unexampled manner from a state of intolerable slavery under the tyrant SALATIS. He conducted them by very painful marches into the land where they settled, and laid out the plan of a commonwealth for them, which is of a novel and peculiar cast. After his death they engaged in several unsuccessful wars, and were at last reduced to an ignominious bondage in Babylon, where they submitted to the meanest employments. The mercy of CYRUS released them,

them, XERXES confirmed them in their privileges, and many of them followed his arms into Greece. Much, however, was wanting to complete their restoration, when NEHEMIAH, in that genius of ancient policy which has long left the world, put himself at the head of large numbers returning into their country, redressed their grievances, emulated the fame of their first leader, and gained glory to himself, and strength to his people.

Believe me, O CLEANDER, the man must be actuated by a great soul, who, for the sake of a perverse nation, can despise the pleasures of retirement, the splendors of a court, and the smiles of his prince, to encounter the violence of the rash and the caution of the timorous, the whispers of the envious and the clamours of the factious, the absurdities of the weak and the opinions of the wise, in the capacity of a reforming statesman.

C.

L E T T E R LXXXIX.

CLEANDER to MEGABYZUS. *From Athens.*

AFTER the high compliments thou payest to my taste in distinguishing the particular excellence of every piece I have sent, and approving them all, it is by no means necessary to make such another to my disinterestedness, and to insist upon my laying out every Darick thou hast remitted, without entering into a detail of the prices. But such, I have observed, is the nature of the elegant arts, that a certain nobleness of spirit is inseparable from the character of the person who cultivates them with success, or admires them with judgment. PERICLES, whose taste governed that of all Greece,

Greece, was most magnificent in this kind of expence; farther indeed than his fortune would allow, especially as he was too much a servant of the publick to attend with exactness to his private affairs. Though, upon his death, this appeared to the whole city to be the case, it is but very lately that the younger PERICLES has been prevailed on to break that admirable collection, which his father had taught him to regard as the most valuable part of his inheritance. Here is an opportunity to do justice to thy commission; and I cannot but congratulate these favourite works of art, amongst which I have often walked with so much pleasure, that they only quit the gallery of PERICLES to be more worthily placed in the palace of MEGABYZUS.

The dispute about ACHILLES's armour was painted by PARRHASIUS*, for the prize at Samos, which he lost to TIMANTHES. The judges, it is agreed, by their decision, did not intend to determine the merit of the pieces, so much as to mortify his excessive vanity; but were disappointed, and he left their tribunal with this reflection, "that it was AJAX's constant ill fortune to see an unworthy rival preferred." In this composition † thou wilt observe nothing hard or glaring; the outline of the figures vanishes as it were into the ground; and every object lessens and grows indistinct in proportion to its distance. The strong light ‡ upon the principal group of the

* PARRHASIO nemo insolentius & arrogantius usus est gloria artis---ergo magnis suffragijs superatus a TIMANTHE Sami, in AJACE armorumque judicio. Herois nomine se moleste ferre dicebat, quod iterum ab indigno victus esset. PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 36.

† Confessione artisicium in lineis extremis palmam adeptus.---Extrema corporum facere, & desinentis picturæ modum includere, rarum in successu artis invenitur; ambire enim debet se extremitas ipsa & sic desinere, ut promittat alia post se. Ibid.

‡ Ne colorum claritas oculorum aciem offenderet, veluti per lapidem specularem intuitibus e longinque: & eadem res nimis floridis coloribus austeritatem occulte daret. Ibid.

two heroes with the armour lying between them, catches the eye immediately, and goes off by degrees upon the less considerable parts. What an amazing effect of art is this, compared with the performances of the old masters! The utmost efforts of EUMARUS* was to distinguish the sex by the shape of his figures; ARDICES of Corinth found no better a way than to write under them; and CIMON first varied that single upright attitude in use till his time. While they found such difficulty to represent nature, it was not to be expected they should improve it; and not yet masters of design, they could not turn their thought upon the artifices of colouring. But there is a curiosity in these rude essays; and the specimen I send will lead thee through the whole progress of the art.

The like degrees of improvement may be observed in the suite of statues from DIPOENUS and ANTHERMUS to PHIDIAS and POLYCLETUS. The Hermæ, which I take to be the first attempts, are very imperfect; they are only a head upon a square block of stone: but the succeeding ages have considered this form as something sacred, and the greatest men are still thus represented. When they advance as far as whole figures, they merely copied what they had seen in Ægypt. Compare the Castor and Pollux of DIPOENUS with the Osiris and Orus; the legs joined together, the arms stuck close to the sides, and the drapery growing as it were to the body, prove them of the same family. But the Greeks will not allow this original of sculpture, which robs their DÆDALUS of the invention. The accounts of this hero (for so he is styled) are like all of his age, ob-

* Qui primus in pictura marem feminamque discrevit, EUMARUM--& CIMONEM Cleonæum: Hic catagrapha invenit, hoc est obliquas imagines, & varie formare vultus, respicientes, suspicientesque, & despicientes. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. § 34. ARDICES Corinthius quos pingeret, adscribere institutum. Ibid. § 5.

scured

scured with fable; yet in many parts of Greece, if we may believe a constant tradition, works of his are still to be seen. One of these*, in the same gross manner of carving, thou wilt find in this collection; it is a small ebony figure of one of the attendants of Bacchus, and performs of itself those antick tumblings used in the processions of the gods. This is done by quicksilver in the cavity of the image; a contrivance which an old author expressly ascribes to DÆDALUS, and which may account for the greatest miracles related of his art.

Among these ancient rarities† I would place the large earthen vases from Magna Græcia; the paintings on them are as much above the grotesque Egyptian taste, as they are below the Greek correctness. Of the same rank are the Etruscan statues and bas reliefs, which have all of them some inscription in the old language of their country, long since obsolete.

The most beautiful proportions ‡, collected from a number of the choicest subjects, disposed in the most graceful attitudes the master's idea could frame, and finished with the most scrupulous care, compose what POLYCLERUS calls his canon, his pattern of symmetry. He has given us also a treatise under the same title, wherein he lays down and illustrates the principles he went upon in his work. It is the roll I have put into the hand of the figure.

* Φύσας; ἢ Κυροδδασκας; φασὶ, τὸν Δαίδαλον κατασκευάσαντα τὸν ἐνδεῖν Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἡρχίσαντ' Ἀργεῖον χυρῶν. Aristot. de Anima.---Somewhat like the Japonnese Puppet, shewn at MARGAS's in 1740.

† Still found in the kingdom of Naples and in Tuscany.

‡ Πάσις ἐν βιβλῇ ξας κῆς ἐν τῷ συγγραμμάτων τὰς συμμετρίας τῷ σώματι ἢ Πολύκλειτου, ἔργον τοῦ λόγου ἐκτελεῖσθαι, δοκίμῃ ἐργάσας Ἀδριανὸν κατὰ τὰ τοῦ λόγου περιγράμματα, καὶ καλεῖται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀδριανόν, καθεστὶ καὶ τὸ συγγραμμά, Κανὼν. Galen. σελ' 7ον καὶ 18ου καὶ 19ου.

Instead of the nobleness and grace, which we admire in *POLYCLETUS*, *STIFAX** of Cyprus presents you with a view of common nature. His subject is a favourite slave of *PERICLES*, broiling steaks over a fire, which he blows with his mouth. But the droll pictures of *PYREICUS*† are perfect in this way; his markets and barbers shops are the very things themselves. No poetical imagination, no divine airs, no elegant draperies, but such countenances, such habits, such accidents, as one daily sees among the common people. His landscape is agreeable to his figures; for cascades, and temples, and porticos, he varies his scene with a pond, a hovel, or a mill. But there is such a truth of design, and such an amazing force of colouring, that he divides the suffrages of the curious with *ZEUXIS* himself. The portraits ‡ of this master are no less esteemed: he expresses the whole man in such a manner, that the physiognomists have formed their judgment from his draughts with the same success as from the life itself.

There is a delicacy and brightness in enamel, that takes every eye. We owe this invention to the genius of *POLYGNOTUS*; and thou wilt perceive to what perfection he has brought it, by the groupe of Trojan ladies, which he copied from a large history of his own in the *Pœcile*. The celebrated *ELPINICE*, whom the common

* *STIFAX* Cyprius uno celebratur signo, *Splanchnopte*; *PERICLES* Olympij vernula hic fuit, extra torrens, ignem oris pleni spiritu accendens. *PLIN.* lib. xxxiv. § 19.

† *PYREICUS* arte paucis postferendus--humilia secutus, humilitas summam adeptus est gloriam; tonstrinas sutrinque pinxit & asellos & obsonia ac similia---in ijs consummatæ voluptatis; quippe eæ pluris veniêre, quam maxime multorum. *PLIN.* lib. xxxv. § 37. Like *REMBRANDT* and *TENIERS*.

‡ This is told of *APELLES* by *PLINY*, lib. xxxv. § 36. but is more likely to be true of such a painter as *PYREICUS*.

§ *Encausticæ* picture extitêre *POLYGNOTI*. *Ibid.* § 39.

talk

talk of Athens makes the painter's mistress, sat for the principal figure*.

The silver vases† and pateræ are of Mentor ; the brazen lamps and helmets of Calamis and Mys. There is something so grand in the general shape of these, the bas reliefs are so justly designed, the foliage is so loose and tender, and every ornament so advantageously disposed, that one would wonder to see so much taste and diligence thus employed. But such furniture is in the highest request here, and the most trifling utensil must be the work of a good hand. The head ‡ embossed upon the golden shield is that of a Carthaginian general, who commanded in Sicily, done by his countryman BOETHUS ; so magnificent also are these proud merchants. It was a present to PERICLES from the Syracusian, who took it in battle.

The last and most considerable accession to this collection was owing to the gratitude of PHIDIAS. When he was dying in prison, he bequeathed to his beloved patron the citron cabinet in the form of a Doric temple : in this were deposited all the studies for his great works, and whatever of the same kind he had got together of other masters. Here is the model § of his MINERVA, with the contrivance for taking off the gold used in the ornaments ; which, when he was accused, he offered to do before the assembly, and proved by the weight he had not embezzled it. As all the publick buildings were under his direction, the designs of archi-

* PLUTARCH. in CIMONE.

† Like the vases and ornaments of POLYDORÉ and JULIO ROMANO.

‡ Pœni ex auro factivæ & clypeos & imagines, secumque in castra tulere. *Faciem reddi in scuto cujusque, qui fuerit usus illo.* PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 4.

§ PLUTARCH in PERICLE.

ture are in vast quantities; they will thoroughly acquaint thee with those stately fabricks; and on thy sofa at Susa thou mayest survey at leisure the magnificence of Athens. The sketch * of the battle of Marathon is by PANÆNUS; the painting from it fills the principal compartments in the Pæcile. The heads of the generals are very slightly marked in the design; in the picture the Greek captains were drawn from the life. From whence PANÆNUS had his ideas of our commanders, I know not; but thy uncle ARTAPHERNES, who is drawing a bow at the head of the Parthian horse, has very much thy air. It is for that circumstance I mention this design. It would be endless to point out the beauties that fill this cabinet; for not an artist of reputation but paid his court to the favourite of PERICLES by some specimen of his skill. I must confess, I have more pleasure in turning over these unfinished sketches, than in viewing the more laboured pieces. The fire, that is struck out at the first thought, is often lost in the progress of the work; and the genuine character of the master appears in the drawing, which in the picture must in some degree be sacrificed to the taste of the publick. With how few touches do they give the strongest expressions! And what a readiness of conception must have produced that freedom of stroke!

Upon the report of my having purchased this collection, which I am supposed to do by commission from my brother HIPPIAS for some Ionian lords, ZEUXIS † paid me a visit, and offered me with great politeness some of his most capital designs. I would have

* Panænus--prælium apud Marathon factum pinxit;--in eo prælio Ionicos duces pinxisse traditur, Atheniensium Miltiadem, &c. Barbarorum Datim, Artaphernem. PLIN. lib. xxxv. § 34.

† ZEUXIS donare opera sua instituit, quod ea nullo satis digno pretio permutari posse diceret. Ibid. § xxxvi.

made him a suitable return ; but he assured me, it had been long his practice not to accept of any. SOCRATES too, the young philosopher whom I have often mentioned in my letters to SMERDIS, has obliged me with the models of his three graces, which are among the chief ornaments of the Acropolis*. He said at the same time with a smile, " You see, my friend, I began by " studying the outside of man."

When PHIDIAS was removed from the superintendence of the publick works, several of the most eminent masters came hither from all parts of Greece, in hopes of succeeding him. But men's minds were at that time so inflamed by the two parties contending for the management of the state, that what tended to the splendour and ornament of it was entirely neglected ; and the war, which broke out soon after, has been carried on at such an expence, as to engross the whole revenue. The designs begun in the late administration are still suspended ; and the marble imported by PERICLES from Paros and Lesbos, lies half wrought in many parts of the city. One of these disappointed artists, TELEPHANES † of Phocis, applied to me for a recommendation to my Ionian correspondents ; and brought with him the model of a statue of the heroine LARISSA, which he had made for the city of that name in Thessaly. It pleased me so much, that I engaged him immediately. Indeed I should think thy commission imperfectly executed, did I not ac-

* Charites in Propylæo Atheniensium non postferuntur, quas SOCRATES fecit. PLIN. lib. xxxvi. § 4.

† Miris laudibus celebrant & TELEPHANEM Phocæum, ignotum alias, quoniam in Thessalia habitaverit, ubi latuerint opera ejus ; alioqui-----sequatur POLYCTETO, MYRONI, PYTHAGORÆ. Laudant ejus Larissam.--Alii non hanc ignobilitatis fuisse causam, sed quoniam se regum XERXIS & DARIi officinis dederit, existimant. PLIN. lib. xxxiv. § 10.

company

company the collection with a person qualified to arrange and to have the care of it. He has given in a design for a repository, which, with the little alterations to be made upon the spot, may be erected either in thy gardens at Susa, or in the midst of that delicious grove, which makes thee so fond of the suburb of Ecbatana. As I found him extremely mortified at the neglect shewn him here, I discovered to him my real intention of sending him into Persia. He received it with great satisfaction, and thanked his good fortune, which took him from a country where the storms of opposite factions spared not even the genius of a PHIDIAS, to place him in those happy climates, where thou presidest, and sufferest no cloud of envy or detraction to intervene between the cheering beams of royal favour, and the virtue that deserves them.

W.

LETTER XC.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES. *From Athens.*

PHILEMON returned home the other evening in a very peevish humour from some debate in the assembly, which it seems had been carried on with a peculiar vehemence. "I have long thought it, said he, a signal instance of the decay of oratory in our publick councils, that speaking to the purpose is laid now-a-days intirely out of the notion of eloquence. The young men, instead of informing themselves in the merits of the question, are pleased with premeditated witticisms, convinced by subtle fallacies, and suffer themselves to be led away by the force of invectives, rather than the weight of argument. The old ones are foolish enough to encourage them in this fatal way of thinking; are
artful

"artful enough to persuade them, that they embrace patriotism in
"adhering to a faction; are mean enough to flatter these boys of
"premature judgments and no experience; and are wicked enough
"to spoil the whole rising generation, for the sake of those sordid
"views which interest a part only of the present. You know
"young NEOCLES, descended from THEMISTOCLES, the most ce-
"lebrated admiral in Greece. He entertained us to-day with a speech,
"composed of what—wilt thou believe me? of a wire-drawn
"simile. He played the image before us in a thousand shapes. To
"say nothing of its being remote from the matter in hand, it was
"imagined with no delicacy, and expressed with no spirit." I know
him well, answered I, and could name many others who resemble
him in this idle turn, and yet by no means equal him in the rest of
his character. The last time I accompanied you to the assembly,
the Mitylenian decree came on, a determination of the last import-
ance to the commonwealth and her allies. Do not you recollect,
how the forward EPANETUS attempted to answer the wise and
elaborate oration of DIODOTUS with equal petulance and ignorance;
for he spoke neither sensibly nor grammatically? The same youth,
in PERICLES's time, opened and revived a point of infinite perplexity
and obscurity, which could never be decided by our most intelligent
legislators, relating to some privilege claimed mutually by the senate
and the people; and the dispute therefore for many years had been
wisely laid asleep. His speech was filled, not with precedents fur-
nished him by the Thesmothetæ; but with personal reflections dic-
tated by CLEON; for which the same CLEON publicly commended
him in the most fulsome strain of adulation, and compared him to the
greatest of the Athenian heroes. On that occasion, I was charmed
with the behaviour of PERICLES, who, according to his custom, re-
suming all the arguments that had been dropt in the debate, thought
it right at the same time to express his contempt for these levities,
and

and with exquisite art and decency began to the following effect :
 " That he could be as well pleased as any of the citizens in Athens,
 " that the young men should be remarkable for the same spirit of
 " liberty, which had distinguished their ancestors ; but should be
 " better pleased, if they added to it the sagacity and prudence of those
 " ancestors, which enabled them to discern the intricate nature of
 " questions of right between the senate and the people, and know how
 " to avoid the decision and even the debate of them." PHILOSTRATUS, the
 nephew of the trierarch, your acquaintance, and DITHYRAMBUS, the son
 of the Areopagite, are in the same party with those I have just men-
 tioned to you, and both of them are late initiates. PHILOSTRATUS has
 parts and learning ; but by taking a wrong turn in the management of
 popular business, as yet he has never made a considerable figure. He chu-
 ses the warm and declamatory, not the cool and rational way of speaking ;
 and professes to enter into no subject, as he expresses it, except when he
 is raised by it, or, as a plain man would say, in a downright passion.
 DITHYRAMBUS does not aim at the improvements of knowledge, and
 has received from nature a shattered understanding. In one respect
 he is more modest than PHILOSTRATUS, as he declares himself con-
 cerned for his violence of temper ; and in another respect as un-
 happy, because he never attempts to correct it. How lost is the
 condition of that state, which is governed by the frivolous or the
 vicious, the partial or the mad ! " But," continued PHILEMON, " can
 " you wonder, that those, who have not passed the exercises of their
 " childhood with even tolerable industry or success, should, when
 " they become a few years older, appear to no advantage in the publick
 " eye ? Can you wonder, that they, who have not so much as
 " received a superficial tincture of the sciences, but who have been
 " educated either in an indolence which enervates their faculties, or an
 " activity which debases them, should turn out bad counsellors and bad
 " men ? It is not to be wondered at ; it is the natural and the neces-
 " sary

"sary consequence of the vice or inattention that has infected their
 "minds early; and they have no one to upbraid for it, but them-
 "selves and their instructors. I wish, added he, the old laws, which
 "enjoin an accurate inspection into the lives and qualifications of the
 "orators, were maintained in their full force. We should then
 "be free from those gnats and wasps of the community, that exert
 "their stings fretfully and wantonly, without contributing in any
 "sort to the general good." "After all, interposed I, the worst of
 the matter is, that the evil so heavily complained of is not confined
 to the faction of CLEON and TOLMIDES; it extends even to our
 best citizens, when the power is vested in their hands. For this
 cunning, which is generally practised by the opposers of the majority
 and its leaders, produces the craft of ministerial influence and cor-
 ruption." "And," said an Athenian in the room with us, who
 till this moment had been silent, "in such cases what is to be
 "done? Virtue is an unequal combatant for vice. The arts of the
 "one are slow and dilatory; those of the other more ready and
 "expeditious: the one are not accommodated to the generality of
 "mankind; the other fall in with every complexion, and veiled in
 "certain plausible appearances, will operate on the infirmities of the
 "wisest. If the men you have been blaming apply themselves to
 "the vanity or ambition of their neighbours, wisdom will teach
 "you, as it were in self-defence, to lay hold of their other foibles,
 "to feed their avarice, and gratify the imaginary wants of luxury."
 "Farewel then," exclaimed I, "to every generous and worthy prin-
 "ciple! Farewel to every enlarged and uniform plan of policy!
 "Indeed melancholy is the prospect, when the strength of minis-
 "ters consists, not in the superiority of their own sense, but the
 "weakness of others; when the countenance of publick virtue
 "sickens with the pale cast of fraud and dissimulation; when all the
 "notions of integrity, so natural to the untainted hearts of youth,
 VOL. I. 3 c "are

"are industriously damped by these veterans in political iniquity, and
"crushed in the very shell. Such being the arts of government,
"and such the dangers to which it is exposed, I ask no other favour
"of the gods, than that they would never place me on that pinnacle of greatness, from whence I may behold this scene of guilt
"and folly; much less where I may be instrumental in the encouragement of either."

LETTER XCI.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Athens.*

THERE have been several reports current in the city concerning the fleet, which, as I mentioned in former letters, was sent by the Peloponnesian allies to the relief of Mitylene. It is now certain, that after having been dispersed by a storm near Crete, they regained the coast of Peloponnesus, and were joined near Cyllene by sixteen galleys, under the command of BRASIDAS the Spartan, an officer of rising reputation. When they had received this reinforcement, they pursued their course, as it is supposed, for Corcyra, to take advantage of the disorders which have lately arisen there. The Athenians have lately received dispatches from their ambassadors in that island, written during the height of the sedition, which gave some account of the rise and motives of it. Thou mayest remember, noble scribe, that several naval battles were fought between that state and Corinth, whilst the quarrel lasted which preceded this war. The Corinthians sent home their prisoners without ransom; and they, as a return of gratitude, used their utmost endeavours to prevail with their fellow-citizens to break the alliance with Athens, and to join the Peloponnesian army. Being
strongly

strongly opposed in this unjust attempt by PYTHIAS, president of the senate, they accused him of conspiring to deliver up the town to the Athenians ; but when the cause came to a trial, they were unable to prove their charge, and condemned to pay a large fine. This ill success so exasperated the accusers, that they raised a tumult, and at the head of a faction, which opposed the Athenian interest, entered the senate by violence, and massacred above sixty senators of that party, and PYTHIAS amongst them. The seditious afterwards assembled the people, and maintained, that what they had done was necessary to preserve the independence and liberty of the island. The Athenians, upon the receipt of these dispatches, sent orders to NICOSTRATUS, admiral of their squadron at Naupactus, to sail directly to Corcyra, and support the democracy. They are likewise preparing to equip a larger squadron for the same service, if the increase of the tumult should make it necessary. They are the more concerned at this sedition, because the naval force of Corcyra renders that island a very useful ally : its fleet, at the beginning of the war, was reckoned equal to that of any of the Grecian states, except Athens.

I doubt not, that CRATIPPUS has informed thee of the proceedings against the unfortunate Plataeans, since that affair falls more naturally within his province than mine. I shall, however, lay a brief narrative of it before thee. The commander of the siege, observing that the inhabitants of Plataea were reduced to great extremities, summoned them to surrender, on condition that no punishment should be inflicted upon them, till their cause had been tried and determined according to the rules of justice. In pursuance of the capitulation, twenty-five commissioners were sent from Lacedaemon, who, without laying any crime to the charge of the Plataeans, put this single question to every one of them, " Have you done any service to our

3 c 2

" state

“ state during the war ?” The Plataeans, sensible of the tendency of this strange examination, represented in the most pathetic terms, the services which their city had done to Greece in the Persian invasion, and the honours which had been decreed them for their publick spirit; to which they added, that they had not embraced the Athenian alliance, till the Lacedæmonians had deserted them. They accused the Thebans of being the source of their misfortunes, by attempting to surprize their city in the midst of peace. The Theban ambassadors, in an inflammatory harangue, reproached the Plataeans with having forsaken Thebes, their mother city, to fight under the banners of the Athenians, whom they called the tyrants of Greece. They said, the merits of their ancestors, instead of being a plea in their favour, were an addition to their crimes, since they had degenerated from their virtues. That the Thebans, far from attempting to take Plataea in an hostile manner, (as had been represented,) were introduced by some of its wealthiest and worthiest citizens, with no other views than to assist their countrymen in shaking off an unnatural alliance.

The Lacedæmonian commissioners, who had private orders to sacrifice Plataea to the resentment of the Thebans, persisted in demanding a reply to the question proposed; and as it was answered in the negative by every one of the captive Plataeans, they were all put to death without mercy, to the number of two hundred. When the news of this illegal and barbarous act arrived here, the Athenians, to express their just sense of the fidelity and resolution of the Plataeans, gave the freedom of the city, and a privilege of being elected into offices, to the survivors and their children. The names of these new citizens were engraved on a column, and set up in the citadel near the temple of MINERVA.

An

An accident lately happened to me, which had almost discovered my real business at Athens, and laid me at the mercy of the resentful multitude. One CHREMES, a merchant of Chios, who deals in wines, was taken up by order of the Prytanes, on suspicion of managing a correspondence with Thebes and Sparta. Several papers, relating chiefly to the condition of the Athenian docks, arsenals, and navy, were found in the wine vessels and other places of concealment in his house, which were examined in the senate, and a report afterwards made to the people, of the discovery. Among these papers was a letter from CRATIPPUS, which CHREMES had not an opportunity of putting into my hands before he was seized. A great clamour was raised immediately over the city against me. The merchant was examined, but declared he had very little acquaintance with me, and not much more with CRATIPPUS, whom he had seen at Rhodes, and knew nothing of the contents of the letter. I was summoned however to attend the tribunal of the Archon Polemarch, (who has a jurisdiction over strangers) and found one of the ten orators appointed by the state to plead public causes, prepared with an indictment against me, importing, that I had violated the laws of hospitality, and wickedly made use of my abode at Athens to keep up a correspondence prejudicial to the republick. When I came to make my defence, I alleged that there was nothing appeared from the letter, which could any ways render me obnoxious to the state. That, far from having corresponded with CRATIPPUS, it appeared from the letter itself, that I had not answered one which he had written to me. That the passage wherein he mentioned the *coincidence of our employments*, referred only to the collections of curious statues and pictures, which we both made in our travels. That the rest of the letter was nothing but news of an indifferent nature, which there was no law to prevent one friend from communicating to another. Several of my Athenian friends did me the honour to
testify,

testify, that my behaviour, during above four years residence in the city, had been very fair and unblameable ; and that neither from my acquaintance, conversation, or actions, I had given the least suspicion of carrying on any practices against the state. By this means I got rid of a troublesome affair, which I have reason to believe was fomented by CLEON, to revenge himself upon me for a satire against him, in which he suspected I was concerned. The piece which gave him this singular offence, was composed one night at CLINIAS's, at a symposium, where ARISTOPHANES the comick poet and myself were present. When supper was over, being heated with wine, and enlivened by the gaiety of the conversation, we went out in a body, crowned with garlands, and with torches in our hands, and sung the sarcastical iambics under CLEON's windows. But it happens always in a divided state, that when any person is opposed by one side, the party in whose cause he suffers take him into their protection ; for CLEON's resentment against me excited the zeal of his enemies to represent the prosecution as groundless and malicious.

The season is very unhealthy here, for the great rains which fell last winter, having stagnated in the low and marshy ground about the city, are corrupted by the violent heats of the summer, and the air is greatly infected. HIPPOCRATES apprehends another plague. Should that dreadful calamity break out again, I shall beg leave (if the king has no occasion for my service in any other part of Greece) to make a short visit to my family at Ephesus.

Noble scribe, I live in daily expectation of thy letters, which will not be less acceptable to me, than the cheering rays of MITHRAS are to the bosom of the hard earth, which has felt the severity of the winter's frosts. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XCII.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER. *From Memphis.*

I HAVE always thought, CLEANDER, that one of the principal ends of travelling was to know the laws and policies of other countries; and that many wise and excellent things might be learnt from the usages and institutions of foreign nations, which were wanting in our own. In the appointment of laws for the well-ordering of mankind, a regard has been every where had to certain unchangeable principles in the nature of things, which, previous to any human laws, inferred an universal obligation upon all rational creatures. But it was the depravity of mankind, that made the authority of the human law-giver necessary, and caused the sanction of civil punishments to be superadded to the primary obligation which our natural sense of right and wrong inculcated upon us. And without this provision, the ends of our entering into society could not be answered; for though the things that are naturally good or evil, seem obvious to the common reason of all men, yet the bulk of the human race would not in all instances be capable of discerning them. And unless such things as are obligatory in their own nature, were further enjoined by human laws, many would be ignorant of their obligation to them; and many who know what they should do, would nevertheless, to excuse themselves, pretend ignorance. For which reason I applaud the wisdom of our own legislature* in punishing ingratitude, a kind of immorality the most odious in its nature, however it happens to have escaped the censure of the laws

* XENOPH. Cyropæd.

in other countries. It may indeed be said, ingratitude is not of the same nature with those crimes which do open violence to the rights of mankind, and tend directly to destroy the being of society. Yet I shall always believe, what I was early taught to maintain in the schools of Persia, that the wretch who is capable of ingratitude, has broke loose from every tie that engages us to our friends, our parents, or our country.

In speaking of the *Ægyptian* laws, the consideration of which has led me to this subject, there are two or three that I shall first mention, which are established upon sure and unerring principles of reason and truth; and the sanction of which seems to be prescribed or limited according to the moral differences of things. The first is, "that whoever kills another wilfully, whether the person " he kills be a bond-slave or a free man, shall suffer death*." For the malignity of this crime consists in the injustice of the action, and the malice and cruelty of the person who commits it; and however the quality of the suffering party may differ, the malice, cruelty, and injustice of the action is still the same. For the further security of the innocent against the indirect attempts and secret villany of mischievous and designing men, it is by law appointed, "that false " accusers shall suffer the same punishment, which the falsely accused " were to have undergone, had they been convicted of the offence." A plain principle of natural justice, that the innocent should not suffer with the guilty, prescribes to them another of their laws "that women with child, who have incurred the penalty of death, " shall not be executed till they are delivered;" a rule of justice which ought certainly to be received in every state, and followed by every tribunal, as it has already been received in Greece, and particularly,

* *Diod. Sicul.* lib. i. c. 6.

as I am informed, by the solemn council of Areopagus. I more wonder that this principle of natural justice should ever have been violated in the laws of any country, than that it is adhered to so strictly in this. I have often thought, CLEANDER, that custom in Persia*, which for the perfidy and treason of one person dooms his whole family, with all the innocent branches of it, to utter extirpation, a most unjust appointment, and cruelty in the highest excess. Pardon me, my friend, this freedom of censuring the laws of that state to which I am attached by every solemn tie, and to whose laws I shall always pay the strictest obedience. The wretch who betrays his allegiance to his prince, without doubt deserves the severest tortures. But why must the innocent and the guilty be involved in the same punishment? I fear the natural injustice of such a sentence can hardly be palliated upon the reason commonly alleged, that the punishment is enhanced to the guilty by being extended to all who are so unfortunate as to be allied to him. I am strongly sensible of the horrid nature of this crime, and am persuaded men ought to be deterred by the severest examples from attempting it. Yet I cannot understand, why those who are no sharers in the guilt, should suffer more than they do in the punishment of the guilty person, for that which is of itself the greatest calamity to any family to happen in it. A whole kindred in this case is destroyed at random; and some perhaps among them, who, if spared, might, from the awe of so near an example, as well as the goodness of their own nature, have distinguished themselves more signally for their loyalty to their sovereign, than the criminal person had done for his perfidy and treason. If the punishment of the criminal is

* JUSTIN. lib. x. c. 2. AMMIAN. MARCELL. lib. xxiii. c. 31. *Leges apud Persas impendio formidatæ, inter quas diritate exuperant latæ contra ingratos & desertores. Abominandæ aliæ, per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitæ perit.*

thought likely to raise resentment from the family, and put them, who are left, upon meditating revenge; yet will not men naturally be more desperate, when, without any regard had to their own innocence, they are destined to suffer for another's offence? I have reasoned with great freedom upon the matter; but the few instances we have of this law's being executed in its full rigour, since the unhappy fate of INTAPHERNES* in the reign of DARIUS, warrants me to believe, that it has appeared just and equitable to the lenity of our mighty monarchs to mitigate the severity of it. Alike severe in its kind is another law we have against deserters†. But if the infliction of severity is never the principal end of punishments, and a regard ought to be had in them as well to the reformation of the offender, where that may be, as to the putting a restraint upon other men; I should think the case of deserters better provided for by the laws of Ægypt than by those of Persia. For amongst other excellent rules of military discipline, it was appointed by SESOSTRIS, "That soldiers who mutinied or fled from their colours, though not punished with death, should be degraded from their post, and stigmatized in the most publick manner with all possible marks of disgrace, and yet be permitted to resume again their military character, if they wiped off that disgrace afterwards by some brave and valorous action." By this he intended, that dishonour and infamy should be looked upon as the greatest evils, and more grievous than death itself. He considered also, that those who were put to death, could never be further serviceable to their country; but such as were degraded only, might, for the shame they had incurred through their past misconduct, and from a desire to recover their reputation, exert themselves with redoubled vigour, and be the more useful for the time to come. These are instances,

* HEROD. lib. iii. c. 119.

† AMMIAN. MARCELL. loco jam citato.

CLEANDER,

CLEANDER, of such laws as have a moral fitness in their own nature ; and the form and sanction of each seems to be prescribed or limited from the nature of the thing itself. But with regard to laws in general, it must be observed, that though they are all founded upon one natural principle, of virtue being rewardable, and vice punishable, yet the particular kind of sanction is not always so clearly pointed out from the nature of the thing itself, but left to the discretion of the law-giver to appoint. And therefore, though the offence in itself be naturally punishable, the positive part of the law, which determines the punishment, however wisely designed, may not be universally binding. If then the laws of this country in some instances appear singular, we are to consider how well they answer the thing proposed ; they may not be less wise, because, in those circumstances which are arbitrary and positive, they differ from our own. It is the institution of this country to punish perjury with death: the punishment is indeed arbitrary ; but if we reflect upon the heinousness of the crime, that it is the most daring impiety against the gods, and a violation of the strongest bands of faith amongst men, we shall have less reason to think it disproportionate to the offence.

The laws of nature seem in general to require, that he who hath unjustly taken away the life of another, should himself be put to death. But when this heinous crime is attended with other aggravating circumstances ; when the offender hath violated the strictest ties of blood, besides the common ties of nature, especially if he has taken away the life of those who were the authors of life to him, all nations are agreed to punish such execrable impiety, not only with death, but with the most lingering kinds of it, and the severest tortures they could invent. For it has always been esteemed the wickedest act that men could be guilty of, to take away the lives

of them from whom they received their own. But when a case happens the reverse of this, "that a parent shall destroy its "offspring," it is surely an horrid and unnatural act, and equally unjust as the other. For although the parent be the instrument of giving life to its child, yet have they no better right to take that life away, than the child has to take away the life of its parent. But it has been thought, that the violating that natural awe and veneration, which is due from the child to the parent, aggravates the heinousness of the act in the former instance, which does not in the latter; and that regard should be had to this difference in determining the punishment. And upon this the Egyptian law seems to be founded relating to such parents, and is indeed a remarkable one; "That parents, who killed their children, should not die themselves, but be forced for three days and nights together to hug them continually in their arms, and have a guard all the while over them to see they did it." This was doubtless thought a punishment, which would be attended with the deepest sorrow and compunction. The inexpressible horror and remorse that the wretch must feel upon the occasion, it was thought, would be as effectual to deter men from the unnatural act, as even death itself. By the law of this country, "if any upon the road saw a man likely to be killed, and "did not rescue him, being able, he was to die for it; and if he "were not able to defend him, yet he was bound to discover the "ruffians, and to prosecute them in a due course of law: if he "neglected this, he was to be scourged with a certain number of stripes, and to be kept without food for three days together." The sanctions of this law are arbitrary and positive; but the law goes upon a supposition in the first instance, that he who, being able, did not defend the assaulted person from violence, was accessory to the violence committed upon him; and the neglect punishable in the second is, his not having done all he might, in order to discover the

the ruffians, and bring them to justice. Yet it must be owned, the penalties in this law are exceeding strict, and would, I fear, be in many instances unjust. A like positive sanction belongs to these other laws, "That such as revealed the secrets of the army to the enemy, were to have their tongues cut out. That they who coined false and adulterated money, or contrived false weights or counterfeited seals, and scriveners who forged deeds, or razed public records, or produced any forged contracts, were to have both their hands cut off." Which all go upon this notion, that every one ought to suffer in the part wherewith he had offended, in such a manner as not to be repaired during life. And so in the case of adultery, the woman was to lose her nose, that she might be punished in that part where her charms chiefly lay.

Now as there are some things, which being not of absolute and universal obligation, are nevertheless fit and convenient in certain instances, and some, which, as the exigencies of human affairs require, are necessary to be provided for only at particular times and in particular places; the laws relating to these things are not of a mixed nature, but merely positive both as to the matter and form. By a law of this sort, all the Egyptians are enjoined to give in their names in writing to the governors of the provinces, shewing how and by what means they got their livelihood. "He who gave a false account in such a case, or if it appeared he lived by robbery, or any other unjust means, was to die." This certainly was well calculated to promote honest industry, and prevent publick mischiefs and disorders in the state. But there is one concerning theft, of a most extraordinary sort, which I will mention under this head. It may seem indeed to countenance iniquity, but was intended for the benefit and redress of the plundered, when the other laws were found ineffectual to put a stop absolutely to that evil,

“ evil, which Ægypt, from the nature of the country, hath always been exposed to: for the slime and mud, which are brought by the waters in the annual inundation, settling in different parts of the Nile, and the lakes which are caused from time to time by its overflowing the country, make those little islands of rushes, which have always given concealment to these band of robbers that infest the country. As it was thought impossible therefore to put a stop to this evil entirely, a law appoints, “ That those who enter into these “ infamous companies shall give in their names to one who is “ their chief, and whatever they steal shall engage to bring to “ him. They who have been robbed, are to set down in writing “ every particular, expressing the day, and hour, and place, when “ and where they lost their goods, and apply to this receiver, who, “ though well known, is connived at by the state; and, after a “ valuation made of the stolen goods, the true owner is to pay a “ fourth part of the value, and to receive them again.”

But for fear of being tedious, I will enlarge no farther on this subject; nor shall I take upon me to defend the last institution, as I can never think it prudent or adviseable to give a licence to evils, in order to restrain them. But the Ægyptian laws must be allowed upon the whole to be wise and equitable, and worthy of commendation. And that these laws may upon no occasion be evaded by the collusion of the parties charged with the execution of them*, extraordinary care is taken to fill the courts of justice with persons of the most approved integrity and unblemished character. The prophet, or high priest of Ægypt, is always president in the tribunal of justice, or over the thirty who are appointed for the hearing of all causes. In judiciary proceedings, the plaintiff exhibits his

* Diop. lib. i. c. 6.

complaint

complaint in writing, distinctly and particularly setting forth wherein he was injured, and after what manner, and the value of the damage sustained. The defendant on the other side, having had a copy of his adversary's libel, answers in writing to every particular, either by denying or justifying, or pleading something in mitigation of damages. The plaintiff replies in writing, and the defendant rejoins. After the litigants have thus exhibited their libels twice, it belongs to the thirty judges to consider among themselves what sentence they shall pronounce. Then the prophet turns the effigies of truth towards the party who carries his cause. The judges used to receive a certain salary from the king, which is still continued to them by the favour of our mighty monarch, out of the revenues of *Ægypt*: and he may justly be regarded as the guardian of their laws, who suffers them to enjoy their own judicatures in all causes, except where the rights of his natural subjects are concerned. The priests say*, that their ancient *MNEVIS* or *MENES* was the first who instituted written laws; and that his laws are preserved among the other sacred treasures of wisdom that have been delivered down to them from the great *MERCURY*, his associate and counsellor. The rest have at different times been received into the *Hermaic* books, and the highest honour thereby paid to the authors of them. *SESOSTRIS* is generally reputed the founder of all those that relate to military discipline. The Theban *Bocchorus* is justly famed for his wise and excellent laws concerning contracts and debts, and for the preventing of excessive usury. He forbids imprisonment for debt, judging it unreasonable that the persons of men should lie at the mercy of inexorable creditors, or be confined to gratify the covetousness or resentment of private people, when they might be of use to the publick service. Many of the *Ægyptian* laws have been copied by the

* *Diop. lib. i. c. 6.*

sages of Greece, who all resorted hither as to the fountain-head of knowledge and wisdom ; and this rule in particular, I am informed, is followed in the Athenian laws of SOLON. The kings of Ægypt from the times of SESOSTRIS, after the prodigious increase of their power and greatness, became impatient of controul ; and the strict laws, which the wise founders of the Ægyptian polity* had appointed for the regulation of their conduct in every instance, both of publick and private life, were now grown obsolete and forgotten, till BOCCHORIS† endeavoured to revive the ancient discipline, and enforce, by his own example, those excellent rules which were calculated for the mutual happiness both of the prince and people. But the invasion that happened in his reign, too soon overturned his laudable designs. The law which enjoins, that the Ægyptians shall give in their names to the governors of the provinces, shewing by what means they got their livelihood, and that yearly, was enacted by AMASIS‡. DARIUS, the father of XERXES, is held in much veneration here, and his name is enrolled among those of their best princes and greatest benefactors. He confirmed the body of their old laws, and added new ones to it. He shewed great indulgence to the Ægyptian priests, to make them amends for the impiety of his predecessor CAMBYSES, in the profanation of their religious rites. He was initiated into their mysteries, and resided for some time in the colleges of Heliopolis and Memphis. Whilst living, they esteemed him as a god ; and when dead, the people allowed him all those ancient honours, which were customary to be performed to the former kings of Ægypt after their deaths.

* Diod. lib. i. c. 6. initio.

† ——— τὰ πρὸ τῶν βασιλέων αἴματα ——— ἱεραρχήματα. Ibid.

‡ HEROD. lib. ii. 177.

I have

I have resided in this country much longer than I intended at my first setting out from Persia; but after I had taken some pains to survey the famous monuments of the Upper Ægypt, and the lasting remains of these once-powerful kingdoms, I was willing to make some inquiry into their history, their laws, and their ancient learning. And when I found my curiosity would detain me in these parts, I took the opportunity of being instructed in those liberal sciences, which are the boasted inventions of Ægypt, and are no where taught to greater advantage. But now having thrice seen the inundation of the Nile, I begin to think, though with reluctance, of leaving the country. But before I set forward for Pelusium, I intend a short excursion to the Pyramids, with the famous HERODOTUS, and some other Grecian strangers, who are lately arrived at Memphis. Adieu.

L.

LETTER XCIII.

HIPPIAS to CLEANDER.

I FIND myself in such a debating humour, that you must indulge me, brother, in arguing upon some other particulars of* your conversation with the Athenian, than those to which I have already spoken. The two advantages of monarchy, which you mentioned, deserve to be insisted on more copiously, viz. The opportunities of munificence, which are lodged in the hands of a great king, and the awe of his absolute power. Nor had your friend so much cause to triumph in the force and clearness of his reasoning.

The wisest legislators in all republicks have established their laws by the sanction of rewards and punishments; because the expectation

* See Letter lxxv.

of the one, or apprehension of the other, is apt to operate most strongly on the human mind. But it often happens in governments of the popular form, that these sanctions are weakened. Envy occasions a neglect of merit, and defeats it of those honours to which it has an equitable claim, while many restraints on the iniquity of the powerful are taken off by their influence on the body of the people. And thus the intention of the legislator, who first formed the commonwealth, is gradually forgot after his death, or openly perverted by his successors. On the contrary, in monarchical states there is the same perpetual legislator, because a king (unlike the temporary legislators who preside in democracies, whose interests must vary according to the different circumstances of the times) will always find himself in the same circumstances, in the same situation and interests with those who have gone before him. He may be a faithful guardian of the laws and these sanctions; and a prudent prince will maintain them in their full vigour; he will not suffer them to be wrested to the low purposes of jealousy and malice, or to strengthen the hands of a faction. Disdaining to act like the inconsistent multitude in the democracy of Athens, he will countenance the deserving with his power, and encourage them by his bounty, while the designing are unable to evade his penetration, or fly from the rigour of his justice. In commonwealths the recompence at any time bestowed on the good citizen is mean and inconsiderable, and rather gratifies the vanity, than advances the interest of the man. But in monarchies the rewards given to a faithful subject are such, as call for his attention and regard. The prospect of them will incite him to endure toil, and the possession of them will animate him to face danger and death in the service of his country. Is a crown of fading oak-leaves to be compared with the gift of an extended domain? Is the most elegant collation which the Prytaneum of Athens can afford, equal in value to the wealth, dignity, and titles, which the sovereign of Asia

Asia may heap on those whom he vouchsafes to favour? These rewards he may not only impart to the man whose merit more immediately demanded them, but even suffer them to continue in his family, and be transmitted to his remotest posterity. This spirit of liberality hath prevailed very eminently in the kings of Persia. *CYRUS*, when he had subdued the world, and settled his empire in security, enriched and aggrandized the attendants on his fortune beyond their most sanguine expectations; and no one ever exceeded *XERXES* in the princely generosity of his temper. Do you think, when he seated himself on the top of the mountain *Ægaleos*, that he might survey the battle of *Salamis*? Do you think, I say, when he wrote down the name and country of every man who behaved well in the fleet, that he had not an intention to distinguish the valour of his officers, and the dexterity of his sailors, with some tokens of the royal esteem? He steadily preserved his intention. He recompensed the sincere, though unsuccessful endeavours of his servants; and many in Persia at this day enjoy the effects of his munificence.

But you will say, that I have hitherto, in the tenor of my argument, supposed a king perfect in the arts of policy, and in all the regal qualifications. Methinks I hear you telling me, that I have taken it for granted, that every prince is a philosopher; whereas nothing is more true than the reverse of it, because Providence has not made them superior to others in their natural endowments, and their acquired ones are seldom so good. Permit me, brother, to answer, that I mean chiefly to confine my observations to Persia; and however this remark may be verified in many countries, I am free from all apprehensions, lest the throne of *CYRUS* should be filled with a *CAMBYSES* for the future, the wildest and most uncultivated mortal, who hath dared in any period of time to be ambitious.

Thou knowest, that the excellent ARTAXERXES has established a noble method of education for those who are to succeed to the empire. The young heir is committed to the management of four persons, who are very remarkable in the kingdom on account of their wisdom and their virtue. The first is ordered to instruct him in the principles of Magianism and the Persian government; the second must inure him to a love of justice and truth; the third is to teach him the mastery over himself and his passions; and the last endeavours to fortify his breast with courage and resolution. Under an absolute prince thus instituted, what signifies the power of doing harm, when the will shall be wanting? What happiness may we not reasonably hope for and promise to ourselves, under a long race of wise and equitable kings? Such will be indeed the living images of the Deity, the faithful dispensers of his bounty. Reflect only, how much more consistent it is with the general welfare of society, that a prudent man should be placed at the head of it, than that a lawless and giddy multitude should be entrusted with the government. Is it not better they should enjoy freedom and security through the means of such monarchs, than that the reins of power should be held by themselves, which will now be unseasonably straitened, and now wantonly relaxed in their hands? Do you not find this peculiarly the case in Athens? Is not their punishment of the best in the city, on observing the least error in a course of the wisest conduct, a flagrant instance of the one; and is not their giving into the foolish politicks and absurd propositions of the worst, a ridiculous instance of the other?

Let us, I beseech you, bring the comparison between monarchies and democracies still nearer. The former is allowed on all hands to possess the greatest advantages, when it is necessary to make a vigorous and sudden effort of power. A monarch may conceal the
secret

secret of his designs from the knowledge of his enemies ; he may deliberate with coolness and act with spirit ; he may attend solely to the reason and policy of his measures, without being misled by the false glosses of his counsellors, without being heated by an orator's address to his passions. In republicks the case is far different ; they are slow in resolving, much slower in performing ; the same secrecy cannot be preserved, nor the same uniform measures pursued ; the voice of reason is lost in the noise of eloquence, and reality is basely disguised by plausibility. A good monarch is sensible, that his own welfare is united with the welfare of his people ; he knows the security of his crown depends on their affection ; he will not therefore indulge his ministers in any selfish views and inclinations, which may injure the prosperity of himself and his kingdom. In popular states, little interests and private competitions too frequently enter into the publick councils : each man aims at power, riches, and the ruin of his enemies, under the mask of zeal for his country ; and the true interest of the many is sacrificed through their own blindness to that of the few. What various opportunities of encouraging the liberal arts, of improving the finances, and of extending the commerce of his empire, are in the disposal of a monarch ? But the ministers who preside in democracies, have no leisure to regard these important particulars ; they are obliged to neglect no expedient, however wretched or detestable, in order to maintain themselves in authority. This is their chief business, and the worthy employment of their administration. How little then ought we to admire those governments, where the spirit of *faction* is mistaken for the spirit of *freedom* ; and that which constitutes the real happiness and grandeur of a nation, is surrendered, not for the sake of liberty, but licentiousness, which is always accompanied with sedition, and must naturally end in destruction ?

A wise

A wise king will respect the advice of a wise council ; at the same time he will be a check over their conduct, and prevent them from caballing together to the oppression of their inferiors, or quarrelling with one another to the disorder and confusion of the state. To speak plainly, he will convey to his people the advantages of aristocracy, without the inconveniencies which may sometimes attend it.

Let it be granted there is one dangerous circumstance in monarchy, I mean, that its corruption is *tyranny* ; but let it be remembered, there is one more dangerous in a republick, I mean, that not only its corruption is *anarchy*, (which every one must allow,) but that it is equally exposed to tyranny. For if tyranny consists in the power and the will to inflict stripes, and slavery in the necessity to receive them when inflicted ; then the many may tyrannize over the few, the stronger may crush the weaker in democracies. In this last case the tyranny will be much more open and effectual than in the first, because a single tyrant will be afraid lest he should inflame the resentment of his people, but a majority of tyrants will be restrained by no such prudential consideration. Under monarchical governments, if the subjects find themselves oppressed by their king, despair will furnish them with arms ; they will join in the common cause, and dethrone him, who has prostituted the dignity of his office, and forfeited the allegiance of his people. They will then place a worthier in his stead ; nor need they in the mean time be afraid of invasions from without, since no one would dare to attack a nation united within. But in popular states the few, and consequently the weaker, after several unsuccessful struggles, will perceive they are unable to redress their grievances : they will therefore ask the assistance of foreigners ; sooner than be in bondage to their fellow-citizens, they will court the yoke of a stranger, and

and submit their country and themselves to the mercy of a conqueror.

In an evening conference at Olympia on this subject you declared, "no simple form of government could be free from inconveniencies: "that one mixed out of the three species would secure to mankind the "benefits, and correct the disadvantages arising from each of them." And you told me, "that you had once intimated these sentiments "in a letter to GOBRYAS." What that great statesman might think upon the scheme, you could not inform me; for he wisely and like a statesman concealed it. But art thou not of opinion, my CLEANDER, that a frame of government so excellently contrived is rather to be commended in theory, than established in practice, and may take place in the heads of philosophers, but not in societies of men? It would be as difficult to settle the nice boundaries between liberty and prerogative, as to adjust the exact limits between vice and virtue. The preservation of such a tender and delicate constitution must depend on that, which would at certain times be unsteady and unequal; namely, the wisdom of the governors in not extending the powers of either too far. The situation of these with respect to each other would resemble that of two princes whose territories are contiguous. If the one advances his forces to the frontiers of the other, he gives a just and well-grounded alarm to his neighbour. In short, to suppose such a mixture either probable or possible, and that it will ever be admitted and maintained in a nation, is to suppose mankind a different order of beings from what they are; or that the gracious OROMASDES will one day or other throw a much larger share of reason into the scale of human nature, than is now laid in the balance, and suffer it to weigh down the passions.

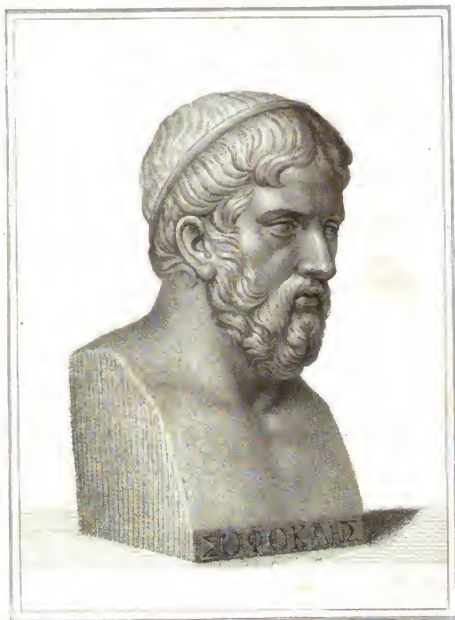
C.

LETTER XCIV.

CLEANDER to HYDASPES.

ÆSCHYLUS (of whom I spoke so much to thee in my last*) is said to have distinguished himself in the three battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa. In the second of these engagements his younger brother **AMYNIAS** commanded a squadron of ships, and had the first prize decreed him after the victory. It was to the reputation of this man that **ÆSCHYLUS** owed his life. Having been accused for some bold strokes of impiety in one of his tragedies, the **Areopagites** were just ready to pronounce sentence. **AMYNIAS** stepped up to the judges in that instant, pulled his arm from under his garment, and shewed it in the face of the court without a hand : that having been lost, as he declared, in the service of his country. The merit of the soldier gained the immediate acquittal of the poet ; and **ÆSCHYLUS** was ashamed of being pardoned not for his own virtue, but the valour of his brother. A few years after he resented highly the affront which had been put on him by the judges of the theatre, in permitting **SOPHOCLES**, who had been formerly his scholar, to carry away the palm in tragedy at the festival which celebrated the recovery of **THESEUS's** bones. **CIMON** gave his sanction to this determination ; and **ÆSCHYLUS** retired from Athens, after his defeat, to Gela in Sicily ; where he arrived while king **HIERO** was building the city **Ætna**. He addressed himself to his new patrons in a play, which bore the name of that town, and was employed in prophetically describing the future commerce, wealth, and grandeur of the place. As he was walking one day in the fields

* Letter lxxxvii.



Drawn by J. Day from

Engraved by M^r. Bore

Uor M

SOPHOCLES.

From a Bust in the Capitol

1870

to refresh himself in the air after the fatigue of a rehearsal, an eagle with a tortoise in its claws accidentally flew over his head, and (as the Sicilians relate it) soaring high with her prey, and wanting some stone whereon to break it, mistook *Æscylus's* bald crown for a flint, and threw it down upon him in such a manner as dashed out his brains. *Themistocles* had such a regard to his performances, that after the death of *Æschylus*, he contracted with *Phrynichus* for the representation of several of them.

In the mean time *Sophocles* improved his credit over all Greece. He was held in esteem, not only as a tragick writer, but as a counsellor; and the highest offices in the state were sometimes conferred upon him. I have heard him speak of his expedition to *Samos* in joint commission with *Pericles*; but that great general said of him, that in his military capacity (whatever he might be in his poetical) he had more personal bravery than conduct. *Philemon* has a good story of his being one day in company with them in the forum, while they continued together in office, and were talking carelessly on matters of indifference, an handsome virgin passed by them in the middle of the conference. *Sophocles* took notice of her beauty, and *Pericles* reproved him, saying, "a magistrate should observe continence with his eyes as well as his hands." Though he is far advanced in years, he continues to apply himself to his profession with an unwearied application. I was myself present at a very extraordinary trial, not many months ago, in which he was concerned, before the court of *Areopagus*. The sons of *Sophocles* desired the guardianship of their father's estate, as of one who was grown delirious, and consequently no longer able to manage his affairs. The old gentleman spoke in his own defence with a peculiar vivacity and strength of understanding. As soon as he had closed his oration, which fell from him with an uncommon flow

of natural eloquence, and grace of pronunciation, he begged leave to read a tragedy which he had just finished, and would speedily offer to the publick. It was intitled *Œdipus at Colonus*, and was designed to do honour to his native town. He recited it, and then desired to know, with some warmth of temper, and quickness of expression, whether that piece was the work of a madman or a fool. The judges applauded his wit, dismissed him with the highest marks of honour, and actually declared his sons madmen for accusing him.

EURIPIDES, another great master in the dramattick art, and the rival of *ÆSCHYLUS* and *SOPHOCLES*, was brought up by his father to exercises of strength and activity, and designed for nothing more than a wrestler in the Olympick games. His inclinations lay another way, and he proved a constant disciple of *ANAXAGORAS* in philosophy, and of *PRODICUS* in rhetorick. Since that he has turned his thoughts to the writing of tragedies, and has one happiness, to which men of parts are generally strangers, that of being as remarkable for his industry as his genius. During the last *Athenæa* I was present at his *Bellerophon*, wherein he hath introduced a wicked man seriously preferring lucre to honesty, in a train of studied arguments. Though, for my own part, I was struck with an aversion to the character and the sentiments, yet I could not think it right to pass sentence on the poet, till the catastrophe of the piece. The impatient audience, however, were rising up with a kind of Bacchanalian fury, to demolish both the play and the actor. *EURIPIDES* came on, and bowed, as if desirous to speak. His request was granted, and he told us, " he could not help observing, with a " secret transport, the virtue and integrity of that great assembly; " and should always endeavour to follow, in his particular capacity, " the national example." He added, " that if they would wait
" quietly

"quietly to the end of the tragedy, they would find he had not failed in expressing his abhorrence for iniquity, since the patron of covetousness would there meet with the punishment he deserved." SOCRATES frequents no plays but those of EURIPIDES. I saw him in a corner of the theatre on this occasion; and while the soliloquy was reciting, his face seemed composed into a settled detestation of the odious panegyrick; but his features afterwards lighted up again, and he was greatly satisfied with the spirit and behaviour of his friend EURIPIDES. ARCHELAUS, king of Macedon, had heard so much of this great poet, that he sent him an invitation to his kingdom. In conversation he told EURIPIDES, "he should be very proud if he would compose a tragedy in honour of his character." To which the other replied with great politeness, "Pray Heaven, your majesty may never be the subject of a tragedy!" A courtier laughed at him one day for the stinking of his breath; "If my breath stinks, (replied he) it is because so many honest secrets have rotted within me."

The general opinion of the Athenians, on the excellencies of these three competitors, seems founded in an exact and impartial review of them. *ÆSCHYLUS* is thought to want neither spirit nor sublimity, but is censured as bombast and inflated. *SOPHOCLES* has united the perfections of art to the graces of nature, and has a juster degree of elevation than his master, with more delicacy and sweetness. *EURIPIDES* is rather fond of elegance and tenderness, than strength and grandeur; and has a fine way of interspersing the reflections of morality, without flattening the dialogue, or relaxing the attention of his audience from the main action.

Comedy had the same rise with tragedy; and though *SUSARION* and *EPICARMUS* are said to have been the first inventors of it, yet

EUPOLIS and CRATINUS pretend to a share in the merit. The former was seventeen years of age when he entered on the theatre, and raised his credit by abusing both CIMON and PERICLES; but the latter honoured CIMON, who was at that time the head of the nobility. The libertinism of comedy is very freely indulged by the impudent poet ARISTOPHANES; and I dare say his scandalous licentiousness will at last convince the Athenians of the necessity of some law to restrain it. It may be said, however, in favour of tragedy and comedy, that each of these writings have their respective use. The fate of tyranny and anarchy are laid open in the one, and the absurdities and follies of private life are ridiculed in the other.

I find it a question, HYDASPES, disputed among the critics of Greece, in which of these it is hardest to excel; at the same time it is universally acknowledged, that the tragick and comick excellencies are so different, that no man can ever be superior in both. Wilt thou indulge me, while I give thee a reason or two on the side of comedy? The first and most natural which occurs is, that it is easier to raise our attention by good sense, than to excite our laughter by wit. The plot of tragedy is already wrought to our hands by the historian; the plot of comedy is derived from the fancy of the poet. The former is conversant in the grave passions of publick life, such as avarice, ambition, and sometimes an heroick love. These are easily painted, because great characters are exposed to the observation of all men. The latter chiefly interferes with the workings of the mind in private life, and the little family intrigues and inconsistencies which occupy so considerable a share of mankind. These are painted with difficulty, because to gain a thorough knowledge of them requires a very intimate and extensive acquaintance with the world. Our behaviour in publick must depend on some virtues

virtues and vices, which, though differently blended in different constitutions, are always the same, and have determined ideas annexed to them. Our behaviour in private will depend on the fickleness of our temper, our levities and humours, which can never be defined, and are not only various in various persons, but are hourly jarring and unsettled in the same person. These levities are the chief ingredients in the composition of comedy, as well as they are in that of mankind; and so flutter between vice and virtue, that they are hard to be caught and described. Tragedy is now carried to a degree of perfection which leaves me no expectation from posterity: but comedy, as by far the most difficult, will admit of much alteration and improvement. In short then, to hit off the passions of comedy with nature and propriety, to bring them home to every man's own business and bosom, is a task reserved for some genius in a future age; since, I assure thee, no one of the present is equal to it.

From Athens.

C.

LETTER XCV.

GORYAS to CLEANDER. *From Ecbatana.*

THE account which thy last letters brought of the surrender of Mitylene, and the punishment inflicted on its inhabitants, afforded us a strong picture of the temper and politicks of the Athenians. And by enlivening thy narrative of facts with reflections on the motives of their conduct, and intermixing particulars of their debates and forms of proceeding, thou continuest to recommend thy diligence and address to the supreme council. I believe I have already informed thee, that thy dispatches are constantly registered in the

the archives of the empire : and if they are preserved with that care, of which the regular series of our records from the reign of CYRUS is a proof, they will transmit to latest ages the memory of a very able and faithful minister. The king, during the course of his glorious reign, has shewn his grateful sense of his servants' merits, by rewarding them with those treasures, which under former ones have been lavished away on the flattering, the servile, and the corrupted dependants on courts; and thy next remittances from TERIBAZUS will shew thee, that thy allowance is considerably augmented. The courier whom NICANDER sent to Sparta for further instructions, is at last returned; the answer he has brought to our proposals, is drawn up with the true Laconick stateliness and brevity.

The King, Senate, and Ephori of Sparta to ARTAXERXES, King of Persia, health.

WE seek thy alliance not unwillingly; but can do nothing to obtain it, which will dishonour our country in the eyes of Greece. Farewel.

I treated the agent NICANDER with great reserve on this occasion, and only expressed my surprize, that his republick could think it equitable, that the whole hazard and expence of assisting them should lie on our side, whilst they were tied down to no particular stipulations in favour of Persia. In the course of the conference I found he endeavoured to discover, if we were inclined to assist his state with a sum of money, on condition it should be repaid with interest in four years. But I told him plainly, (as I was ordered,) that I looked upon our negotiation as entirely at an end; and that it was indifferent to the king, whether he continued here or departed. I have not seen NICANDER since this conversation, but I do not hear he

he designs yet to leave us. I agree entirely, CLEANDER, with thy opinion, that it is ill success alone which must lengthen the monosyllables of Lacedæmon. From the intelligence which thou sentest me concerning PYTHON, I took hold of an opportunity he gave me of entering into some discourse with him. He made an application to me in behalf of a correspondent of his, an Athenian merchant residing at Sidon, who had been imprisoned by the governor, for refusing to submit to an extraordinary tax, which had been laid on all foreign commodities. I assured him, it had been levied without the least authority from hence; and that the king would disclaim the proceeding of his governor, by sending him immediate orders, not only to release the merchant, and repair the damages he had sustained, but to repeal the imposition. I hinted, however, to PYTHON, that it was inconvenient for the Athenians not to have an ambassador here to complain of such violences, whenever they happened, and to take care of the interests of the republic at this critical juncture, when they could not be ignorant, that the Lacedæmonians shewed a disposition to cultivate an alliance with us to their prejudice. PYTHON appeared very attentive to my discourse, and told me, that he would not fail to inform his correspondent of the relief he had obtained from the king's justice; and that he did not doubt it would give great satisfaction at Athens.

When thy last letters were read before the council of Seven, they renewed a division, which has for some time prevailed amongst them, and spread generally through the empire, viz. whether Persia should immediately take part in the Peloponnesian war. Some are eager to revenge on one part of the Greeks that disgrace which they suffered from the whole body of them at Salamis and Plataea. Others think the empire not sufficiently recovered from those deep wounds, and are willing to take time for considering which part of the Greeks
it

it will be our interest to support. The younger counsellors and the military men declare for the first opinion ; and as they have formed an high idea of the Spartan bravery, incline to their interest. The wisest and most experienced satraps, and even those among our officers who have grown old in the service, advise us to pursue the latter scheme. The worst is, that he, whom both his abilities and integrity render the fittest to direct our councils, I mean MEGABYZUS, declines more and more in his health ; the consumptive state of body, under which he has laboured for two years, grows daily upon him. No air suits him but that of the forest of Nisa ; and I believe he will be unable to attend the court in their removal to Susa.

I know not if thou hast yet been acquainted with the remarkable events which have fallen out within the compass of a few months in the northern provinces. Several complaints having been sent up against ARIAZUS, the governor of Sogdiana, he was ordered to repair to court forthwith to justify his conduct. Instead of complying, he pretended at first, that sickness prevented his taking so long a journey ; but that he hoped the reply he made in writing to the accusations of his enemies, would be a sufficient apology for his behaviour. His defence was found to be so evasive and trifling, that a second order was sent him by an Astanda, to set out within a day after the receipt of it, if he would not be reckoned a criminal ; and at the same time OCHUS's lieutenant in Bactria, SPITAMENES, was commanded to draw together a body of troops towards the frontiers of Sogdiana. ARIAZUS soon discovered his criminal intentions ; he imprisoned the Astanda, seized the revenues of the province, entered into a correspondence with OXYATHRES, who had taken refuge at the Scythian court, and broke out into an open revolt. By the persuasions of the latter, TAXILAS, the Scythian king, was prevailed

prevailed upon to send to the assistance of **ARIAZUS** a body of thirty thousand men, who crossed the Tanais, and joined him at Gaza. The laws of nations were violated, and our ambassador **ARSANES** put under arrest, for remonstrating strongly against this open infraction of treaties. **SPITAMENES**, without staying for the reinforcements, which the governors of Parthia and Hyrcania were preparing to send him, ventured a battle near Cyropolis. He put himself at the head of his troops, and pushed the van of the rebels very vigorously; but receiving a mortal wound from a Scythian bow in the beginning of the engagement, his troops were defeated, and obliged to repass the Oxus. Affairs on this side put on for some time a bad aspect; but the over-ruling **OROMASDES** would not suffer the reign of our Great Monarch to be long sullied with the prosperity of a rebel. For the Scythian king being killed by a fall from his horse, as he was hunting, his son **CLEOPHAS**, who succeeded him, not only released our ambassador, and recalled his forces, but assured us, in the strongest terms, of his resolution to adhere strictly to his alliances with Persia, and that in pursuance of them he had ordered **OXYATHRES** to depart his country. To deal freely with thee, this sudden turn proceeds not so much from the natural disposition of the young prince, as the influence of his favourite **AGASPES**, who has felt the effect of our master's liberality. **ARIAZUS**'s army, discouraged by the retreat of the Scythian forces, mutinied against him; and **BESSUS**, one of his officers, had the boldness to assassinate him, as he was sleeping in his tent, and sent up his head to court.

I have now performed the duty of a minister, in laying before thee the present state of our affairs; but I should ill discharge the offices of a friend, if I did not assure thee of the continuance of my regard for thee by a small present of oriental curiosities, which the next ship will bring thee from Ephesus.

VOL. I.

3 G

Thou

Thou mayest likewise be satisfied, that whenever thou art tired of thy hazardous employment, I will exert my utmost endeavours to procure thee a secure and honourable establishment in Persia. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XCVI.

CLEANDER to ORSAMES. *From Athens.*

How agreeably do your letters, most noble ORSAMES, lead my imagination through all the mazes of Ægyptian learning! How awful is the form of science, concealed beneath the veil of sacred rights! But how rational is the delight she gives us, when divested of her hieroglyphick dress, and stripped of that disguise which gains her the veneration of the ignorant and admiring multitude! Upon this principle, the Eleusinian mysteries are calculated to inspire a reverential curiosity, which makes the mind more deeply attentive to those truths, the knowledge of which it has with much difficulty attained. But why do I talk of truths, when all I can tell you is of outward shews? For I have not been admitted myself to a participation of these ceremonies; and yet methinks, if I am not widely mistaken in my guess, whoever is an hearer of the divine SOCRATES, cannot be entirely ignorant of the doctrines taught in them, though he himself has hitherto refused the initiation, even to his discredit; perhaps to avoid a more dangerous suspicion of discovering out of treachery, what he has already learned by the inspiration of an excellent nature. But of this hereafter. I imagine you will not be displeased with a particular account of the external ceremonies, of which I have lately been a spectator. They begin on the fifteenth of the month *Bondopousiur*, by a general assembly of the candidates

candidates for initiation, who on the second purify themselves in the sea, and are employed on the third in offering sacrifices of little pomp, and therefore not worth describing. The fourth day is distinguished by a solemn procession, in which the holy basket of CERES is carried in a consecrated car, drawn by four milk-white oxen, whose necks and horns are wreathed with garlands of corn and poppies. They pass along amidst the acclamations of the multitude, who resound the praises of CERES; and are followed by a train of beautiful young women, representing the companions of PROSERPINE. Their garments are gaily embroidered with all sorts of wild flowers; and on their heads they bear the mystick baskets, which are concealed from every eye beneath long veils of purple. "Yet however your curiosity may be excited by this concealment," said the young ALCIBIADES to me, "believe me, who am an initiate, the veils cover nothing half so much worth seeing, as those "faces to which they give a becoming shade." On the fifth evening is commemorated the search of PROSERPINE, when CERES, snatching with a torch the flames of Ætna, ran with uncertain steps to seek her daughter. The air is illuminated with the blaze of ten thousand torches, and great is the contest, who shall consecrate the largest to the service of the goddess. The most remarkable of all the ceremonies was that of the sixth day, when the statue of IACCHUS, the son of JUPITER and CERES, is carried in procession from Athens to Eleusis. It sets out from the Ceramicus, and is accompanied with musick, songs, and symphonies of sounding brass, to which the dancers' feet keep time, who, as well as the statue, are crowned with myrtle garlands. Thus they used to pass in festive pomp along the way from thence called sacred, and, after resting twice, enter Eleusis by the mystick gate; but ever since the beginning of the war they have been forced to conduct their procession by water. The sea is almost covered with the multitudes of shining vessels, which are

ready to convey the joyful crowds, who are received at Eleusis in a magnificent temple, capable of containing, with ease, more than thirty thousand persons. The loud notes of the trumpets and clarions are reflected with a softer echo from the waves; and with these the sacred bards join hymns of praise to CERES, PROSERPINE, and IACCHUS. The dancers with a nimble bound skip from one bark to another, and with a thousand antick gestures express their mimic raptures. I followed in the crowd of boats with SOCRATES and ALCIBIADES. Of the three remaining days that precede the initiation, the first is passed in games, wherein the victors are rewarded with a measure of barley, that grain being first sown in Eleusis; the next, in admitting persons to the initiation of the lesser mysteries; and the last is called Plemochoai, from a libation made out of two earthen vessels placed towards the east and west, which, after the repetition of certain words, are thrown down, and their wine spilt upon the earth. And here what are properly called the mysteries begin: the happy initiates are conducted by the hierophant, who has attended them through all the ceremonies from the very first day, into the temple of CERES, and the impenetrable gates of secrecy are shut against the profane. For a stranger, though but by accident, to be present at these secret rites is inevitable death; for an initiate to reveal them, death with infamy. Thus far, however, may be innocently known of them, that besides the hierophant, whose business through life it is to preside at them, they are attended by five publick officers, the chief of whom is one of the archons, bears the title of king, and the day following the mysteries, has the care of assembling the senate, to take notice of any irregularities that have been committed there. The other four are chosen by the people, and called curators. The hierophant, or mystagogue, has also three assistants of an higher, and ten of a lower rank, who are chiefly employed about the sacrifices. Beyond this we know little but from conjecture;

conjecture; but thus much all the conjectures that I have ever heard, agree in, that the secret of these mysteries cannot consist in shews alone, in visions, in frightful noises, and appearances, calculated to astonish women and children indeed, but little capable of answering the raised expectations of the brave and wise, who all are ambitious of being admitted to them. Even in the lesser mysteries many doctrines are inculcated of the highest importance, and conducive to virtue; yet these are but a preparation for the greater, and to them no one is admitted, whose character is blemished with any crime. On this initiation are supposed to depend the favour of the gods and the happiness of a future state. Shall we suppose then, that this degree of happiness and merit is attained by merely beholding a number of strange ceremonies, by attending to the sounds of solemn musick, by being in a blaze of light, and on a sudden in total darkness, by answering a few questions of course, asked by the hierophant, about their previous preparations? Or, is it by listening to a sacred doctrine, that shall unfold the sublimest truths of religion, by clearing from their minds the mists of vulgar prejudice, and forming in them just notions of the Deity, the one supreme director of the world, such as he is adored in Persia, such as he is taught in the more publick Cretan mysteries, whence that people pretend these and all others to be derived? Such doctrines as these are thought to require the closest secrecy, as being too opposite to a useful popular belief. Such doctrines as these deserve indeed the pomp with which these mysteries are introduced, as those of all others the most venerable, as those of all others the most important, as those which alone can open the mind to true knowledge, and give a just and constant principle of action. Whether this be the mystery revealed to the initiates or not, let us rejoice, who are in possession of such valuable knowledge; and if we conduct our lives in a manner suitable to it, we need not be perplexed by those fears, with which many are terrified

rified into the initiation, that merely wanting the name of initiates shall condemn us to eternal wretchedness; or indeed that those who have only the name of it shall claim any superiority over us in the just determinations of a future state. Farewel.

T.

LETTER XCVII.

SMERDIS to CLEANDER.

OROMASDES has established the throne of Persia to maintain our religion above the contempt and insolence of idolaters, who do not like the complexion of our barbarous and inhospitable faith, which, say they, excludes the gods themselves from our cities, and denies them an habitation amongst us.

Should Persia yield to a foreign master, the peculiarity of our religion would add weight to our chains; as the wretched Jews meet with little compassion, and are thought not sufficiently humbled, while they refuse to comply with the worship of their conquerors. This people are well known in the East, for their sufferings and inflexible adherence to their religion; for what kingdom has not numerous families of them, the marks of their ancient bondage? Though they are so industrious to reinstate their nation, like a trunk torn up by the violence of a hurricane, in its parent soil, it thrives but a while, and extends its branches only to be lopped and scattered by the sword of a new master. The holiest of the Magi does not more reverently admit the divine presence amongst them, than this people, which they do not presume to circumscribe by the works of their own hands, nor venture to represent any otherwise than by a
dazzling

dazzling glory, an inaccessible brightness, which they assert some time to have been given as a sensible mark of the Deity's presence ; but that the most intimate knowledge of God is the divine irradiation upon the minds of prophets and holy men. They are persuaded of the existence of some evil genii, which are at least coeval with the world, and the dangerous enemies of mankind. They think it no stain to marry amongst their own kindred ; and they honour a prophet as the messenger of heaven. The similitude which all this bears to the wisdom of the Magi, is the reason the Jews find their condition very tolerable under a Persian yoke. CYRUS himself, when he reduced the pride of Babylon, treated them favourably, because he found them retaining such venerable doctrines. XERXES burnt the temples of Greece, but permitted them to rebuild their places of worship. Certainly, CLEANDER, pure religion was once universal ; and mankind received truth from the same source whence they derived their being. For this ancient people maintain many uncorrupted traditions, which no change of fortune has ever been able to extort from them. ZADOC is one of these, a person of no mean credit at the court. Upon asking him, on what grounds his countrymen justified their tenacious regard for their religious rites ; because ; said he, they were divinely communicated ; and (what is much more difficult to support without evidence) Heaven has not altogether broken off the intercourse with us, but at certain periods honours some holy man with the knowledge of its will, who first gains our credit by some notable instance of power, and then confirms us in our religion. Our princes hear his rebukes with decency, and submit to his commands with meekness. They do not profess to make war nor conclude peace by their own strength or counsel, nor dare they assume the honours of success ; they are but second in the state, for God is the sovereign. So long as we acknowledge this, we have a constant and happy testimony of the truth

truth of it ; our seasons are ever temperate, our flocks multiply, our vintage never fails, success attends our arms, and our princes rule with wisdom.—ZADOC, said I, you forget yourself, and your fancy carries you back to those early times, when man's innocence fitted him for the converse of heavenly genii, who were the vicegerents of God, and openly interposed in the administration of human affairs. But there are now no footsteps in the world of that happy state, and the miserable vicissitudes of your nation leave the least room for expecting to find any there.—I do not, replied he, pretend to exempt our nation from the ills of life ; no, we are liable to the greatest ; for observe the equality of Providence, which proportions our duty to our advantages. We are enjoined an hard task for our high privileges, no less than humility in the enjoyment of them ; a constant acknowledgment of a precarious dependance, when we seem to be above the stroke of adversity. As God is the disposer of our affairs, he will not permit the aid and devices of men to share in the honour. We are forbid therefore to think ourselves at all accessary to our happiness, either by industry in peace, or conduct and prowess in the field. To reckon up the national forces, and keep exact lists of the soldiery, is laudable œconomy in other states : in us it were a criminal ostentation, and reliance on human aid, (which we profess not to confide in,) and has sometimes been followed by a national calamity. Much less should we be tolerated in a defection from the divine worship, or the vile indignity of setting up an idol in our hearts, as his competitor, who has no equal, and will bear no comparison ; who calls himself jealous of a rival, a term not more affectionate than terrible to his worshippers.

Now, continued he, you see the tenure of our happiness, and will cease to wonder at our frequent fall from it, since it depends on the steadiness of the human mind, and our perseverance in a national fidelity.

fidelity. Alas! peace and affluence easily corrupt the heart, and introduce an insensibility of dependance. We, like other nations, soon boast of our achievements, strengthen ourselves with allies, court foreign marriages, (which are forbidden by the law) and in complacency to our new alliances, agree with those nations in their forms of worship. These are the gates that let in plague, famine, and slavery upon us, and render us the scorn of nations, who upbraid us with not having a knowledge of the true God, or (what is indeed the case) not having virtue enough to deserve his protection. ZADOC, said I, you surprize me much, in accusing your nation of levity in religious duties, since you are known to offend in the other extreme; and will not, even in captivity, be prevailed upon to neglect those ceremonies which render you obnoxious.—You say true, replied he, for captivity renders the mind sober and considerate, and (the most cruel tyrant is often unable to extort an unworthy confession from us. But surely you are not at a loss to find the difficulty there is in making so nice a duty as is required of us, compatible with the wantonness of prosperity.—The ways of Providence, said I, are not to be pronounced upon with peremptoriness. I will not pretend to say, that its dealings are the same with all nations; but is it possible, that truths of importance should be confined in the custody of an obscure people within the bounds of Palestine?—We are not, returned he, an obscure people; our very misfortunes have prevented that; or if we were, perhaps obscurity and privacy may be less corrupt guardians to treasures of this kind, than the refined politics of large empires. Despise not our weakness, SMERDIS; like private men, states have their vicissitudes; we are still a distinct people, and are continued (so we presume) for greater ends than the present meanness of our condition promises. Great princes have sat on the throne of Palestine, and a greater still may arise, who, like your CYRUS, shall vanquish the nations of the earth with irresistible

controul, and retrieve the honours of an ancient people, who can not only fairly trace their ancestry up to those holy patriarchs whom Heaven deigned to spare at the general flood, but pass that common boundary to the annals of other nations, and deduce our origin from the common father of the human race.

Our discourse was much longer; and ZADOC's honest zeal for his religion and nation accompanied him through the whole, conducted, not without some appearance of reason, but not so much, but that I said to myself at parting, Good Heaven! what a blessing is hope, which is so hard to be extinguished in the human breast! It is a spark that lives where there appears no fuel for its support. This people in slavery keep prosperity in view, and (by what I can discern) indulge their imagination with victories to come, and an extended empire in distant ages.

From Balch.

H.

LETTER XCVIII.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS. *From Athens.*

THE superiority of the Athenian naval force, if rightly managed, must turn the balance of war in their favour, as (not to put thee in mind of other instances) sufficiently appears from the issue of the Corcyrean troubles. The contests between the Aristocratical and Democratical factions there rose to such a height, that much blood was spilt during the violence of the tumults, in which the people had, for the most part, the advantage. The party of Oligarchists, being apprehensive that their enemies would take possession of some posts very incommodious for them, in a fit of rage and despair

despair set fire to the buildings round the forum and harbour. Great quantities of merchandize and other rich effects were consumed in the flames, which spread so wide, that if the wind had not been contrary, the whole city must have been burnt to the ground. The day after this disorder, *NICOSTRATUS* arrived with the Athenian squadron from Naupactus, and soon composed matters to the advantage of his party. The others were disarmed, obliged to deliver up hostages, and four hundred of the chief amongst them confined in the temple of *JUNO*. Within four or five days after, the Peloponnesian fleet, consisting of fifty sail, commanded by *ALCIDAS* and *BRASIDAS*, came in sight of the island. The united squadrons of the Corcyreans and Athenians went out to meet them, and began an engagement, which lasted till night. The former, who had a division amongst their seamen, and brought up but few gallies to fight at a time, were put in great disorder; but the latter behaved with such gallantry, that though they had only twelve ships, they sunk one of the enemy's, and secured the retreat of the Corcyreans. The confusion was so great within the city, that had the Peloponnesians followed the advice of *BRASIDAS*, and attacked it directly, they would, in all probability, have been masters of it before morning; but they contented themselves with landing troops, and ravaging the country. This gave the Corcyreans time to recover from their surprize, and take the proper precautions with regard to the Aristocratical party, who meditated a second rising. The arrival of an Athenian fleet of sixty sail obliged *ALCIDAS* to re-embark, and retire into port with no small precipitation, leaving the sea open to the enemy. The Corcyreans, elated with these powerful succours, were determined to take a complete revenge upon the adverse party, and proceeded against them with the most bloody and merciless severities, insomuch that in the space of seven days they extirpated almost all the Aristocratical faction. Fifty of the richest citizens were put to death,

death, according to the forms of law. The others were privately assassinated by their creditors, or murdered at the altars, whither they fled for refuge. A large number of these unfortunate men, it is said, were shut up and starved in the temple of Bacchus. This is the conclusion, noble scribe, of the Coreyrean sedition, which, for the time it lasted, was as violent as any recorded in history. It is observed to have been the first, which has broken out in this war, founded on the different principles of the Athenian and Lacedæmonian governments; but from the animosities which the cruelty wherewith it has been carried on must occasion through all the Grecian states, is it conjectured that it will not be the last. The Athenians triumph greatly in their good fortune, and say, the Peloponnesians have behaved in this affair with that irresolution and inexperience which accompany all their naval operations. They imagine, that the success with which in the same year they have quelled the revolt of two considerable islands, secures to them the fidelity of their allies, whom such striking instances must convince, that the Lacedæmonian power cannot yet protect them from the weight of Athenian resentment. The grave and pious, with whom I converse, find their joy greatly abated on this occasion, by the fatal consequences which they apprehend from these unhappy divisions, as a general disregard to public faith, and a total subversion of humanity and religion in the intercourse between the Grecian states.

The Athenians have this day decreed an assistance of twenty galleys to the Leontines, a people of Sicily, of Ionian extract, who are at war with the Syracusians. The chief of the Leontine embassy is GORGIAS, a celebrated orator, whose eloquence has had great weight in the assemblies. It is of a new and peculiar kind, abounding in frequent flourishes of fancy, and metaphorical allusions. He has

has many admirers here. For my own part, I think the style of his orations is rather stiff and affected, than persuasive and elegant, and owes its chief graces to novelty. GORGAS, besides acquiring the reputation of an able negotiator, has considerably improved his fortunes by his Athenian embassy. The whole city resort to hear his rhetorical lectures, and he receives as a gratuity from every disciple who attends them, no less than an hundred minæ. Though the Athenians in the decree pretend, that their ancient alliance and relation to the Leontines are the reasons which induce them to send these succours, thou mayest easily imagine they are not the principal ones. The real intentions of this state are to prevent the supplies of corn, which their enemies receive from Sicily, and by degrees to get footing there. I know very well, that the fertility and riches of the island, its command of the seas, and the short passage from thence to Italy, have long rendered it the object of ambition to the most enterprising politicians. During the administration of PERICLES, there were schemes formed to seize upon some part of Sicily ; but that great minister always discouraged them, and told those who advised it, that the republick was not powerful enough to undertake an expedition, which, besides its own difficulties, would infallibly draw upon them the arms of all Greece.

The present rulers, bolder but less prudent than PERICLES, have not (as far as I can learn) laid these views aside, and therefore gladly embrace the opportunity, with which the Leontines furnish them, to introduce Athenian forces into Sicily.

Thy conversation with PYTHON, noble scribe, was extremely well timed ; and the relief, which the justice of our monarch afforded to the merchants at Sidon, has given very favourable impressions of the Persian court. They talk of sending thither an embassy of
some

some of their principal citizens. In the mean time a commission has been dispatched to PRITHON, to manage their affairs with the Great King, as an agent from Athens. Adieu.

P.

LETTER XCIX.

*OTANES, chief architect and superintendant of the royal palaces,
to CLEANDER.*

I HAVE seen thy curiosities in the palace of MEGABYZUS, which he has so arranged in his splendid apartments, as to shew at once his taste and value for them. I am persuaded, that an affectation of this sort of science, as it is so general in Athens, instead of adding ornaments to society, must fill it with ridiculous characters. For if I understand thy ingenious comment upon those pieces of art, to judge of sculpture and painting, and to be pleased with them on good grounds, a man should be acquainted with nature and the passions; should know how a base, an honest, or a great mind would actuate the body in different circumstances; in short, should be both an abstract moralist, and a practical observer of human life. I do not wonder that thou, CLEANDER, shouldst add this to the number of thy accomplishments; but I think few have the previous qualifications for it.

In return for my entertainment, I will acquaint thee with some natural curiosities, which have lately engaged the attention of the Magi. One of them, PATIZITHES by name, has been at great pains in the collection, and has formed an extraordinary hypothesis thereon. He thinks, he is hereby enabled to prove not only the ancient deluge,

deluge, but other revolutions in the earth of a more permanent effect. This collection is lodged in a neat room, at one end of the schools of justice, where the sons of the Magi hold their daily disputes. Upon my entrance, PATIZITHES opened the drawers of his cabinets, and exposed to view a great number of sea-shells of such variety, as are scarcely to be seen on the strand, when a furious tide has driven them from the bed of the ocean. My attention was raised by the sight, when PATIZITHES began, saying, All nations have some tradition of a terrible flood, which deformed the face of the earth, and brought such desolation upon our race, as to leave but a single family to re-people it. This was the great triumph of ARIMANIUS; he thought, when he was permitted to confound the elements, to mix air, earth, and water, and extinguish every spark of terrestrial fire, that he had renewed chaos and his ancient dominion over nature. But he soon saw order restored; and now no footsteps remain of that hideous devastation, but such as you see before you; a sufficient monument indeed of its truth to all future ages. These shells were gathered from different countries far from the sea; some of them formed parts of a rock; others were inclosed in a less dense coherent matter; some were near the summit of mountains; others many fathoms below the surface of the vales. The flat country of Babylonia and Ægypt, the rocks of Arabia and Persia, and that chain of hills which runs from the Tanais towards the Caspian sea, contributed to enrich these cabinets. But, said I, there is room to doubt of their antiquity; for how could things of so perishable nature be preserved through so many ages? Because, said PATIZITHES, they have been enclosed in the bowels of the earth, and were better guarded against the effects of time, than the bodies of the ancient Ægyptians in a case of asphaltus. Here, says he, observe that shell, which so nearly resembles a cone; it was lately found on breaking a piece of marble, which made part of a great pyramid in the lake

lake Mœris. Which therefore do you judge to be of greater antiquity, that ancient pyramid, or the shell you have in your hands? Doubtless, said I, you'll say the shell, because the materials must be older than the building. But, continued I, do you then suppose this shell to be coëval with the rocks? Not only so, says he, but prior to them, as I will satisfy you immediately. Upon which he broke the shell, and continued his lecture in the following manner: The contents, said he, you see are a piece of Egyptian marble: now if you please to, compare the marble with the shell, its case, you find they exactly tally. No sculptor on earth could so nicely have fitted the protuberances of one to the cavities of the other. There is an exact similitude in the lines of each, though almost numberless, and some of them scarcely discernible to the eye. This stone, therefore, which is now so firm and solid, was once not so, but in a fluid state, and received its impression from the shell. I am satisfied, said I, this cannot be the effect of art: but the notion of fluidity and the parts of a rock seem to be at a great distance; and I would rather continue in suspense, than sit down with such an hypothesis. There is greater difficulty in supposing this than the thing you would prove by it. I can more easily believe there has been a deluge, than that it should be able to soften rocks, and bring them to a state of dissolution, which is what you seem to aim at. Have patience, says he, and I will be more explicit on the subject. You know, that some of the ancient pillars and obelisks at Thebes, Memphis, and Babylon, are thought by the judicious to be nothing more than a cement or composition, because no quarry can be found that bears any resemblance to them; and our modern builders have variety of such cements, as from a fluid state come to a firm consistency, when the superfluous moisture is carried off by the warm air and sun. Now why should we deny the same privilege to nature? When the mighty flood swept over the face of the earth,

earth, and ploughed up the loose soil, the mouldering clays, and chalks, and infinite variety of materials, the ancient rocks were washed at their very roots, their foundations were opened, and (as a rocky promontory undermined by the sea breaks off from the continent, and is sunk for ever in the abyss) having no stedfastness, they reeled from their places, and their weight bore them towards the centre, where they lie for ever beyond the reach of adventurous mortals. The blended materials, thrown up in promiscuous heaps by the waves, covered them; and as the waters subsided, cemented together more closely; and as the parts were nearer akin, they cohered and formed bodies of different firmness and solidity. I do not therefore require of you to believe, that the ancient rocks and compact bodies were dissolved, but that many new ones were formed by the deluge, which had inclosed the spoils of the sea within them. If you can admit this account, you will easily find a solution for every thing that lies before you; if not they are attended with insuperable difficulties. What other rational account will you give of that shell of a nautilus, which was found buried in a stratum of a piceous substance below the bed of the river Arbis, when ARTAXERXES commanded a bridge to be built over it? Or those teeth and part of the jaw-bone of a monstrous shark, which were dug from the same quarry that supplied the eunuch BAGORAZES in building his magnificent palace? This large drawer is filled with curiosities from a bed of chalk fifty cubits below the surface of the earth. These small chalky masses are full of the little bones and teeth of fishes, and many shells of the most delicate texture, and great variety of shape and colour; for neither the form nor colour is injured by the softness of the stratum they fortunately fell into. I was much pleased with the sight of these, and began to handle them too roughly, as I perceived by my friend's countenance, who turned as pale as if I had defiled the elements. Upon which I restrained my curiosity

within the bounds agreeable to him. He next bid me observe some stones which retained impressions from fishes, which, says he, have long since been wasted away, because of their tender substance; but the impressions remain not only of the head, fins, and tail, but the very scales; and in some you may perceive a glossy gold colour received from the body of the fish. Here is one so entire, you may distinguish it to be a river perch.

Pray, said I, in this general confusion, which you suppose, might one not expect to find some products of the land as well as the sea preserved in the strata of the earth? Yes, replied he, there are some horns of deer that were found in a morass at a very considerable depth. Here is a beak of the *Ægyptian Ibis*, and some teeth of monkeys, now no where but in *Æthiopia*, which were found in the heart of a mountain near the *Araxes*; and all those nuts and almonds which you see, were dug from under the roots of ancient cedars in *Mount Libanus*, when the *Tyrians* expected to find rich mines in its bowels. Those shattered and decayed bones were gathered from different depths of the earth, where it had never before been opened. Here, says he, are some masses of a very compact marble, but only used in covering houses, because upon a stroke it is apt to shiver into thin plates; for many vegetables were buried in the stratum, and prevented its cementing so closely in those parts. Upon which he split it very dextrously; and now, says he, you may see the broad leaves of the *Ægyptian papyrus*, lying flat and parallel one to another, as you may have observed them after the Nile is abated, and has left those plants clogged with mud, and all inclining the same way with the direction of the stream. I could shew you many masses that are filled with fern, the common produce of dry and barren grounds; some with myrtle, box, and many other vegetables. But pray take notice of two pieces of iron-stone, each

each about a foot square, and of a flat surface: a sort of net-work is deeply impressed on the whole surface of one, on the other the same work is in a sort of relief; they differ no otherwise than the seal and the wax, for they once adhered together in the same mass. I took up a stone, which seemed unworthy a place in his cabinets, and observed to him, that it was used in the most ordinary buildings. You are right, replied he, there is no commoner material; and the more I wonder it has not been taken notice of, for it is made up almost entirely of small shells. Place it in a convenient light, and you will see them of a thousand different shapes. The buildings of Susa, and, I doubt not, all the cities of the world, are full of the exuviae of fishes. This is no extravagant thing to say, if we consider the vast shoals that must have been poured out of the bosom of the deep, which not only contains the shells of the present race, but probably those of several preceding ages, since they seem not to be of a very perishable nature. I will add a piece of advice to thee, OTANES, who art employed by ARTAXERXES in raising monuments to his honour, that, when thou buildest for posterity, thou chuse the most simple materials; for the veins and colouring of marbles are chiefly owing to vegetables and the exuviae of animals interspersed in the original strata, or some mixture of heterogeneous bodies, which seldom cement well together, and therefore yield sooner to the attacks of time. I thanked PATIZITHES for his advice, and the new scene he had opened to me. I told him, I was not one of those who doubted the reality of a deluge; but I did not imagine nature would have supplied any arguments for it: she exhibits every where beauty and order, but is cautious of shewing her deformities. Thou, my friend, hast penetrated into her arcana, and bringest to light what she would have concealed. Thou discoverest how shamefully she was disturbed by the destroyer ARIMANIUS, who dissolved her laws, and set her at variance with herself.

LETTER C.

CLEANDER to GOBRYAS.

As I am sensible my publick dispatches are always read before the council of seven, and afterwards registered in the archives; I would not in them mention an affair which gives me some uneasiness, and which I intend only for thy knowledge. My brother, HIPPIAS, enclosed in his last packet the following sentence out of a letter from HYDASPES the chamberlain, to him. "Tell CLEANDER, "his merit has raised him many enemies, who endeavour to sup-
"plant him in the favour of the ministers. The practices of the
"great are busy against him. I have not at present time to
"write more." My friends have sent me no advices of this nature; and yet the mysterious brevity of this paragraph strangely confounds me. I know not any of the courtiers to whom I ever gave the least ground of offence; at the same time I cannot understand the conduct of TERIBAZUS the treasurer. He has never once written to me since I resided at Athens, though he made me large promises of friendship before I left Ecbatana; and for this last year I have never received a single mina of my appointments. If the former liberalities of MEGABYZUS and thyself had not supported me, I should have been reduced to great distress.

Next to the protection of OROMASDES, generous GOBRYAS, I depend upon thine. Thou wert never yet known to disappoint the meanest of thy dependants. I will therefore rest assured, that thou wilt not suffer a friend to be run down by court-faction, who may venture to say, that he has not been useless to the country which employed him. Adieu.

From Athens.

P.

LETTER CI.

ORSAMES to CLEANDER.

I HAVE in a former letter observed to thee, CLEANDER, that the peculiar regard which the Egyptians shew to the remains of their deceased friends, proceeded upon a persuasion of the soul's subsisting after its separation from the body; an opinion which has so generally obtained in all nations of the world, that one may with better reason conclude it is inherent in the human soul from a consciousness of its own immortality, than that it was discovered first by the Egyptians, and derived from them to the rest of mankind. But however that be, they doubtless were the first who accommodated this doctrine to the gross conceptions of the vulgar; and this gave rise to the superstitious representations in their funeral solemnities, which are performed near Memphis, in a large parcel of ground set apart for that purpose, and called the territory of the dead. It consists of several large and pleasant meadows, encompassed with groves of lotus and sweet canes, and watered with many clear rivulets and fountains from the serpentine windings of the Nile*. But the dead are not admitted, nor supposed to be admitted to this place, until they have passed the solemn tribunal, to which they are conveyed in a boat across a great lake called Acherusia. Before the coffin is put aboard, any person is at liberty by the law to accuse the dead; and if it can be proved that the deceased led a wicked life, than the judges appointed for that purpose give sentence, and the body is refused an honourable burial. If no informer appears, or the information is

* DIOD. SICUL. lib. i. c. 7.

proved

proved false, all the kindred of the deceased leave off mourning, and begin to set forth his praises, and recount the virtues wherein he excelled, invoking the infernal deities to receive him into the society of the just. On one side of the lake is the temple of the infernal HECATE, and the gates of COCYTUS and LETHE made fast with brazen bars; on the other, the pleasant islands and meadows before-mentioned, where those who are absolved at this tribunal have a right to be interred, if their friends desire it; but whether their bodies are deposited there or not, they represent the calm or happy state into which such persons are received in the Amenthes, or invisible region of departed souls. I have already hinted to you, that their doctrine of the soul's immortality is blended with that of its successive revolution through different bodies. The Amenthes* therefore, or their name for the invisible region, signifies a place that receives the souls, and sends them back again. In that state, the good, after their removal from the body, are supposed to be in a quiet and unruffled situation. But it is not till after they have passed through their several successive revolutions†, and have returned again into the human body, and not till after a second separation from it, that they are supposed to pass into an happy state, if they have acted their part virtuously in this, the second time, as they did before. But the notion of the soul's transmigrating through various kinds of bodies, I have reason to think, was a later improvement of their philosophy; and I conceive the more ancient doctrine to have been rather this, viz. that they should return again to act their part in an human body at the great mundane revolution. When in our way to the

* Τὸν ὁμοχθῆνα τόπον εἰς οὗτον τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπέρχεται μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν Ἀμύνθη καλεῖται σημαίνοντι τὸ δόγματος τὸν λαμβάνοντα καὶ δίδοντα. PLUT. de Isid. p. 362.

† Ἐς δὲ τὸν παῖδος μὲν ὕλης ὅθι ἀνάβατος ἄνθρωπος οἱ δὲ χροσθὴ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν κομθῆναι, αὐτὸν ῥῶτον μὲν ὡς βίαι, ὃ μὲν μακρότερον δὲ θύον ἔχοντι ὅχι τὸ δόγμα διακρίνει διατελῶσι. PLUT. de facie in lunā, p. 942.

Labyrinth, we stopped to survey the three great pyramids that stand between Memphis and Arsinoë; it was impossible not to reflect upon what principle they could be erected. They might perhaps by contrived for other purposes of their religion besides the intombing of the dead; but however that be, it is certain the founders of them intended their remains should be deposited therein. A desire indeed of perpetuating their names by some lasting monuments, might be natural to the Ægyptian kings, as well as to those of other nations; yet it is peculiar to Ægypt to boast of a more expensive magnificence in these monuments than in the palaces of the living. And by designing to be buried within the pyramids, places of such impenetrable strength as were never erected for the defence of the living, one must suppose they intended to secure their remains against the injuries of time, or hostile fury, in those eternal habitations. And does not this peculiarity appear of a piece with that of their being more solicitous than any other people, to preserve their bodies from putrefaction, by salting and embalming them, which is an art original to Ægypt. Both the one and the other peculiarity may, I believe, be accounted for, upon the same principle which CHERES, an Ægyptian priest, suggested to us in some discourse we had upon this subject. It was the ancient opinion, that the souls delighted to hover about those places where the bodies were deposited*, with good hopes of returning again into their own, if those bodies could be preserved until the great period came round. But in case they mouldered away or were destroyed by violence, their soul would be allotted to some new body, and in that again exposed to all the same hazards of vice and pollution it had happily escaped in

* *Ægyptii periti sapientiam condita diutius reservant cadavera, scil. ut anima multo tempore perduret, & corpori sit obnoxia, ne cito ad aliud transeat.* SERVII Comment. in v. 67. *Æneid.* lib. iii.

the

the first. The Ægyptians, in their symbolical way, express the permanent and incorruptible nature of the soul by certain immutable proportions of number*; from whence PYTHAGORAS, they say, learnt to call it a self-moving number, expressing in a mystical sense, mind, or an essence that had nothing in it of matter, which is flux and changeable. Some believe the pyramidal form to be expressive of certain sacred and mystical doctrines; but I think it more natural to suppose, that in those monuments which were intended to endure through a long course of ages, it was pitched upon principally as being a form the most permanent and lasting. It might moreover be designed in honour to the chief objects of their worship; for pyramids and obelisks have been very ancient representations of the celestial divinities, by allusion to the pyramidal or conical forms, in which the rays are emitted from a luminous body. The †pyramids I saw stand upon the brow of a rocky hill, which rises in a gentle ascent from the level plains by Memphis, but the same rock is continued westward to the steep mountains of Lybia. Each side of the greatest pyramid contains about seven hundred Grecian feet in length; the sides ascend by rows, rising like stairs from the bottom to the top. The height is computed to be nearly equal to the base. The river enters by a secret channel into a great subterraneous vault underneath this pyramid‡; and in the middle of that receptacle is an insular fabrick, where the king's body, who finished the pyramid, was intended to be intombed. A great causeway, paved in some places with granite marble, lies from the banks of the Nile to the brow of the hill whereon this pyramid stands. Southward, about a bow-shot from this, we meet with another, the next in magnitude,

* ——— Τὸ δ' ἀριθμὸν ἰστέον ἀσώτῃ, τὸ δ' ἀριθμὸν ἀετὶ τὸ οὐ καταλείψαντι. PLUT. de placit. lib. iv. c. 2.

† GRAVES's Pyramidographia.

‡ HEROD. Euterp.

but

but which falls short of the dimensions of the first; neither are the stones which compose it of so vast a size. The sides rise not by degrees like that, but are a smooth sliding plain from the bottom to the top. It is bounded by the north and west with a row of cells*, the whole like a regular fabrick, hewn out in the hard rock. On the west side likewise of the great pyramid is a large pile of building of the Bisaltes stone †; from whence, as from the cells round the second, are secret passages into both, but through them only the priests or the initiated ever enter. South east is the famous Sphinx, a colossal figure of an immense size, computed to be in length one hundred and forty-three feet, in height sixty-two, and one hundred and two in compass about the head. It was undoubtedly erected there to express the season of the inundation. The third pyramid stands distant from the second about a furlong, upon an advantageous height, whereby afar off it appears equal to the former, though indeed the whole pile is much less and lower; yet for the structure and beauty of the marble it excels both that and the great one. Close adjoining to it, on the east side, is another building, of a dark stone like Thebaick marble. At a distance we could discern to the south several other pyramids, which lie scattered through a desert tract on the confines of Lybia, and are found all along the upper region to the borders of Æthiopia; many of which I saw in my passage the last year down the Nile: but most of them, though very durable in their kind, were the work of earlier and more simple ages, when the Ægyptians were rather desirous to preserve their remains inviolable, than ambitious to leave conspicuous monuments of their state and magnificence. They were erected by the ancient kings of the Thinite dynasty, or in their times. However, there is, I am told, one among them, which nearly equals in its dimensions the largest of these, by

* GREAVES, ubi supra.

† Id. Ibid.

Memphis. Next in antiquity to those, and more ancient than these, are two admirable pyramids standing in the middle of the great lake Mœris. For CHEMMIS, (whom HERODOTUS uses to call CHEOPS, making a Greek name of the Ægyptian,) who is reputed the founder of the first of these by Memphis, was among the descendants or successors of SESOSTRIS; and SESOSTRIS himself was later than Mœris. CEPHREN and MERCERINUS, to whom the second and third are ascribed, were one the brother, the other a son of CHEMMIS. The great lake of Mœris was contrived for a balance to the waters in the annual inundation. And there is a communication from the river to the lake by a great ditch, eighty furlongs in length and three hundred feet in breadth, by which it may receive the superfluity of water when the Nile rises to an excessive height, as by opening its other sluices the country a great distance round it may be supplied in seasons when the river fails. And though the expence of opening and shutting the sluices be very great, yet it is certainly a work of the greatest benefit to Ægypt. In the midst of the lake the king contrived a place for his sepulchre, and raised two stately pyramids, the one for himself, the other for his wife; and upon the summit of each he placed a colossus of marble sitting upon a throne. From the foundation the pyramids are a hundred fathoms high; they are seen fifty fathoms above the water, and are hid as many fathoms under it; so that the lake is in some places three hundred feet in depth, and, as HERODOTUS persuades me, was all made by art. The circumference is computed at three thousand six hundred furlongs. It lies about six hundred furlongs above the city of Memphis. We passed in a boat across this lake to the Labyrinth, which is said to have been built by joint consent of the twelve kings, who reigned in Ægypt after the expulsion of SETHON, the priest of VULCAN. The fabrick is the most wonderful in its kind in all the world, from which DÆDALUS received the model of the much-famed Labyrinth he built

built in Crete. The subterraneous apartments were all cut by hand in the solid rock ; which might pass for an incredible story, were it not considered that the whole rock is a sand stone, which contributes to the preservation of the bodies deposited within it. And in these wonderful apartments are the *gabbares* *, or mummies, of the twelve kings who built the Labyrinth, with the remains of crocodiles, and other their sacred animals. But if the labour and expence of sinking pits, and excavating vaults, in the solid rock, or raising such immense piles of stone above ground, to secure the human remains from the violence of after-ages, may be in some sort accounted for upon a persuasion they firmly maintain with regard to the soul's revolution ; yet their paying an equal regard to the remains of the most noxious animals can be resolved into nothing but the most extravagant phrensy and superstition. The whole nome, which takes its name from the neighbouring town of Arsino, pays an extravagant veneration to crocodiles. These are embalmed with most exquisite art, and set up in niches, as the bodies of birds and other animals are through every part of the subterraneous chambers. At the angle where the Labyrinth ends, there is a pyramid of two hundred and forty feet in height, with a basis of the same dimensions, on which are engraved colossal figures of animals : the passage that leads to it is under ground. The several corridors and intricate passages of the Labyrinth below seem to answer, as nearly as we could compare them together, to the apartments above ; of which, as I know HERODOTUS has given the most exact description, I will not be tedious in attempting it after him. It was by a very particular interest with CHERES, the Ægyptian priest, who accompanied us in this tour, that I gained admittance into the apartments under

* So the embalmed bodies were called in the language of the country, as St. AUGUSTIN confirms: "Morem enim habent siccare corpora, & quasi senea reddere; Gabbaras ea vocant." AUG. serm. 120. de diversis. Note by the translator.

ground,

ground, of which HERODOTUS himself was denied a sight the first time that he travelled into Ægypt. But I must have been initiated to have entered the pyramids; the preparations for which I have no time now to go through.

I write this from Sais, a city of ancient note in the Delta, the curiosities of which, after I have taken a regular survey of them, may furnish out another letter to you before I begin my voyage for Greece. But I willingly confess, CLEANDER, that you are so well instructed in the philosophy and learning of those sages, who were most conversant in the recondite doctrines of Ægypt, that I have corresponded with you more for my own sake, than for any information I could hope to give you from the little I have gained by my inquiries. HERODOTUS said, upon seeing your epistle on the Eleusinian mysteries, "This Ephesian has discovered more of those secrets, by a shrewd induction from some slight and unguarded hints of his Athenian friends, than any ought to know who is not an initiate, or than an initiate should dare to reveal;" and he hath religiously omitted the very mention of them in his history. Adieu.

From Sais.

L.

The End of the fifth Year of the Peloponnesian War.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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